THE NEW REPUBLIC

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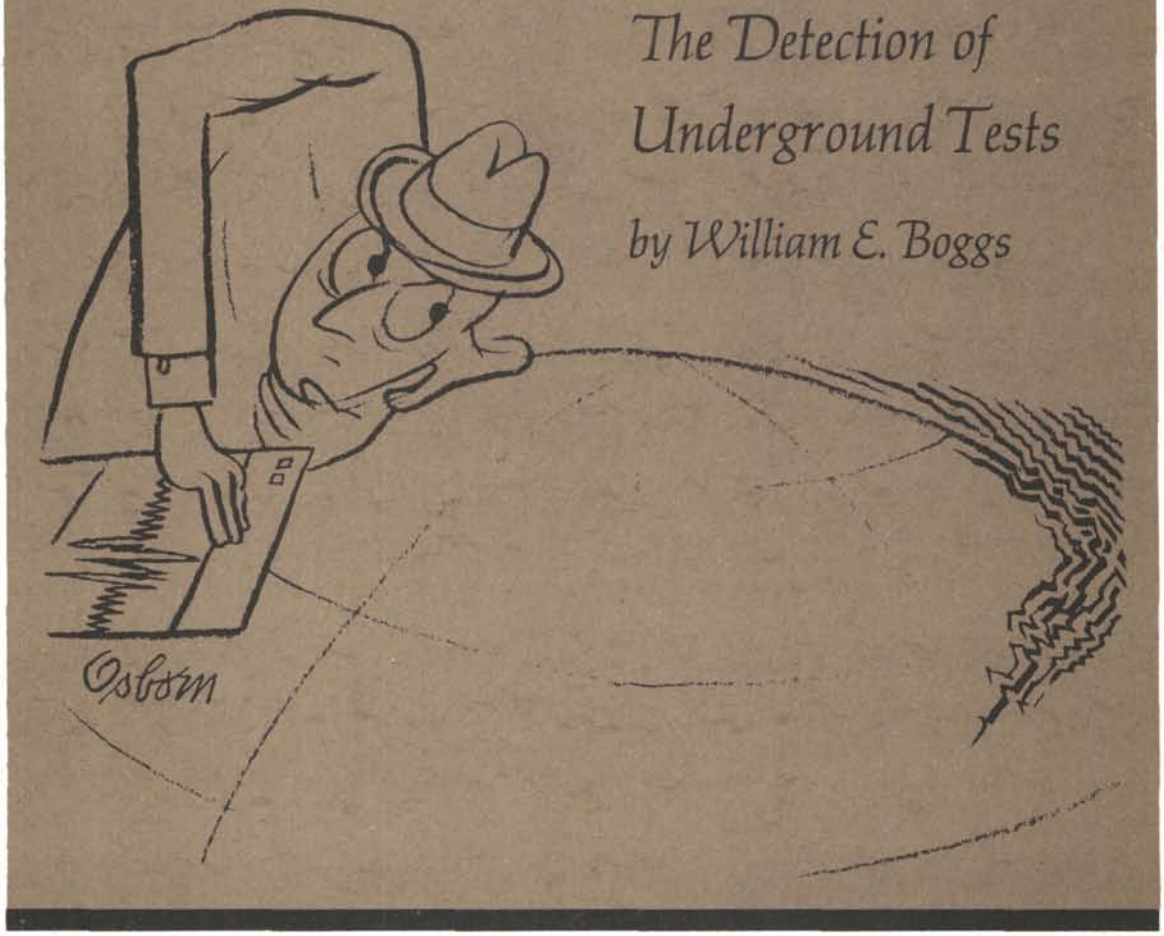
Seismology & Diplomacy

The Detection of Underground Tests

by William E. Boggs



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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Why So Slow?

★ In a little speech at the White House last week Kennedy wistfully told a group from the Committee for Economic Development that he wished they would find out why Europe is so prosperous. He said the same thing to the UAW convention at Atlantic City. The trouble is, Kennedy has been told the reason again and again. But he just won't listen.

It's simple enough: Europe is spending itself rich. Europe listened for eight years to all the things Eisenhower said a country shouldn't do, and did them. Ike had three recessions, Europe none. As the London *Economist* points out satirically, European governments never balance their budgets (at least in the American sense): they do their best to avoid surpluses, they spend a lot more for public services proportionately than we do, they commit every sin in the book. And they grow faster, invest more, make bigger profits, raise wages and living standards faster, maintain full employment and avoid recessions! By conventional US standards these things are wicked. Shockingly enough, they work. As the *Economist* notes, they have shown that fiscal-monetary policies *aimed at high demand* are "the way to make an advanced economy work well."

Sound heretical? That is because you haven't been back to college recently. The gap between what teachers are teaching and what the American public believes is so big now that it's getting to be funny. "Old wives tales" are the main obstacle to sensible US economic policy, said MIT economist Robert Solow, recently. His colleague, Francis Bator, observed, "I would generally say that the 'budget balance rule' is a very bad rule. It's a terrible rule."

Even Walter Heller, Kennedy's top economist (who has to preserve official discretion whatever he may think personally), told Howard K. Smith on a TV interview the other day that "virtually no other country" imposes such a tough budget standard on itself as we do. We figure into a supposititious "deficit," for example, sums spent for long-term investment; items that any private budget would label an "asset."

Kennedy has been told this time and again; why won't he listen? When he took office an extraordinarily able economic "task force" headed by Paul Samuelson told him that America's economic trouble was deeper than just the latest Eisenhower recession, that the economy was tired and sluggish. Arthur Burns, Eisenhower's former economist, promptly attacked this; any further recovery spending would be inflationary, Burns said; unemployment would correct itself about mid-1962 or by fall, anyway. Well, Burns was wrong. Unemployment is still high. Kennedy did increase spending but not to get the $10 billion deficit that most of his outside academic advisers recommended.

The result? The stock market is clearly flashing warning signals, the 1962 recovery threatens to lose its oomph, and people are beginning to talk about "the first Kennedy recession" sometime next year. Inflation – ? No. The country has bought price stability at the cost of slow growth.

"Political Realities"

★ So far as I know economic advisers brought in to see Kennedy have been virtually unanimous that he ought to spend more. A new book by the Harvard economist Seymour Harris (*The Economics of the Political Parties, $7;* Macmillan) says as much. Harris has close contacts with Kennedy, he is in fact senior consultant to the Secretary of the Treasury, and he is sympathetic to the point of partisanship. But he acknowledges uncomfortably that economists criticize Kennedy. Most of this, he says, "lies in his failure to accept much larger deficits as a means of stimulating growth and . . . unemployment." Harris ought to know. "Most economists today," he says, "would see no great danger in deficits year after year if they were not excessive in relation to income. But the public is not prepared for these views."

Exactly; it's "the public." The public has been brainwashed for eight years. Who is going to re-educate the public? It ought to be the President; but Kennedy, Harris explains, must deal with political realities. "The President is sensitive to the charge of fiscal irresponsibility," he notes.

Kennedy is his own best judge of politics but a business slump is an important political reality, too. Nobody is going to bring back from Europe information which American economists don't already teach: you must stimulate *demand.* As Harris says, "Even continuous deficits, year after year, are not necessarily harmful and in fact may be helpful."

Notes

★ We may be wrong but the outbreak of European isolationism seems a lot more important than the crisis in Laos. Laos may well sound worse than it really is. On the other hand the dream of an Atlantic Community is threatened now by a couple of anachronistic, authoritarian old men who want to substitute in Europe a Continental Third Force. . . We haven't seen anybody happier for a long time than the Republicans with the Billie Sol Estes case. If they can prove high administration corruption, they are certainly entitled to. That Estes is a kind of Texas Ponzi seems evident. But as a political issue, he remains uncertain. Crestfallen Republicans found that a mysterious item marked "Washington Operation" referred to a real estate development in the State of Washington, that the charge that a secretary in the Department of Agriculture had been railroaded to a mental hospital to close her mouth collapsed and that Republicans as well as Democrats seemed to have been Estes' beneficiaries. Meanwhile the GOP has excavated that fine old woolly mammoth John W. Bricker out of some glacial ice cap to preside at its June fund-raising dinner here. . . . And we thought Kennedy's fighting medicare speech in New York one of the best we've ever heard; we could imagine a man in braces with tilted cigarette holder, up in the clouds somewhere, rubbing his hands in pleasure.

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Cutting Off Our Nose

Landing at New Delhi in the pre-dawn hours last October 22, Sen. Stuart Symington scanned the itinerary for his three-day visit to the Indian capital. It was not that he gave two hoots, but the omission of an appointment with Prime Minister Nehru did seem puzzling; he remembered distinctly having written ahead to Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith, requesting that the US Embassy set things up for a call on the Prime Minister by the chairman of the Near East and South Asia Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The Ambassador had some rather awkward explaining to do when he drove by to pick up the Senator shortly after noon on what was to prove a memorable Sunday in the history of Indo-US relations. The US Embassy had forgotten all about the Nehru matter and the Symington request had not been passed on until that morning. Mr. Nehru was more than ordinarily pressed. Since he was preparing to leave the next day for a rally on the Goa question in Bombay, the Prime Minister could not work him in, and hoped that Mr. Symington would stay over for an appointment on Wednesday.

But Mr. Symington flew on schedule to Cairo. There he spent an intensive two days in conversation with key Americans and Egyptians, though Gamel Abdel Nasser was unable to see him. Back in Washington Symington confided that what he had heard in India about the rising influence of Krishna Menon had reinforced all the old doubts about US aid to neutralist governments. Brandishing clippings of Menon on US nuclear tests, he announced that he would move to strike out all aid to India when the aid bill came before the Foreign Relations Committee. His attitude hardened noticeably following a Washington visit by Julius Holmes, the US Ambassador to Iran and an old friend, who is said to have told him of the conviction of the Shah that the emphasis on India in US aid policy cheats Teheran out of aid dollars. Symington was also fond of pointing out that seven out of 11 Missouri Congressmen had voted the previous year to cut foreign economic aid. Despite a plea from the President in an hour-long White House meeting 24 hours before the critical vote, Symington went ahead and put through an amendment requiring a 25 percent cut in current levels of aid to the Nehru Government.

Although the initial 8-7 decision on May 11 did not stick when Senator Morse moved for reconsideration on May 21 – Senators Gore (D, Tenn.) and Wiley (R, Wis.) had been absent, and refused to go along with Symington – the compromise accepted by Administration

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forces stipulates that projected aid for India in the 1963 fiscal year shall not exceed current, 1962 appropriations. This means, in effect, a cut of 10 percent in the program planned for next year and invites even more drastic House action to limit the aid program in New Delhi. The President confronts one of the most significant political crises of his Administration. He is not only called upon to assert the Constitutional right of the Executive to conduct foreign policy. In the present instance, he must also vindicate his own commitment to India as the kingpin of his aid policy. Senator Kennedy, it will be recalled, was principal sponsor of the 1959 Congressional resolution which led to creation of the aid-to-India consortium (Canada, Britain, West Germany, France, Japan, and the US) now scheduled to underwrite the Third Five Year Plan with an initial installment for the first two years of $2.2 billion in foreign exchange credits ($1 billion from the US).

It is paradoxical that at the very moment when Mr. Kennedy is on the verge of giving practical substance to his long-declared intentions with respect to adequate aid levels for India he should encounter rebellion within his own party. Some Southern Democrats have complained in the past about aid to neutralist regimes, but the defection of Symington, a border-state politician who has entertained national ambitions, portends more serious dangers in the Congress. The President should nevertheless be able to carry public opinion with him if he places aid to India in the larger perspective of containing Chinese Communism.

Mr. Symington chose to toss his thunderbolt within the same week the Pathet Lao broke the cease-fire and advanced to a point near the Mekong Valley not 600 air miles over Burma to the Assam border. And less than a week earlier, frontier detachments of the Indian Army were out on "deep patrols" to establish outposts in territory claimed by Peking, and were firing volleys at Chinese soldiers near Spanggur Lake in Western Tibet.

The Senator's anti-Indian animus has become so pronounced that he goes to the extreme of discounting the Chinese threat. When Secretary Rusk was asked by Symington during Rusk's testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee on April 5 whether it was not correct that Nehru's military spending was prompted by designs on Pakistan, and that US aid made this armament possible, Mr. Rusk quietly observed that "he has a longer range and growing problem on his northern boundary with China." Mr. Symington waved aside the long view, insisting that "the Chinese Communists are not currently a real menace to them, because of the heights and the nature of the passes, the nature of the terrain."

The case made by Pakistan against the scope of US aid to India is unimpressive in view of the extent of military and economic aid being given to the Ayub Khan regime. In addition to an undisclosed annual sum of military aid, Pakistan has properly been allocated $945 million by the six-nation consortium in the first two years of its new Five Year Plan, an amount which is, as Secretary Rusk observed, "significantly higher in relation to the Pakistan economy, and the per capita situation, than is the consortium arrangement for India." Moreover, Pakistan has been behaving in a manner most opportunistic for a supposed "ally" of the United States. In depicting India's "hard line" on the frontier issue as unreasonable, the Chinese can now point to Pakistan as an exemplary good neighbor; for the governments of Pakistan and Communist China announced a provisional agreement on May 4 demarcating the boundary between Sinkiang Province and the Pakistan-held portion of Kashmir. Though Pakistan may yet accede, the initial response of Karachi to the US request for SEATO troops in Thailand was to decline politely on the plea that Pakistan's US-supported forces were needed for defense against India, not China and North Vietnam.

Senator Symington has presented his aid cut in part as a gesture of protest against the pending Indian decision to buy two squadrons of MIG-21 supersonic jet fighter planes from the USSR, but he has failed to note that the US has given Pakistan supersonic jets under the military aid program. In any case, the effect of his 10 percent reduction will no doubt be to solidify Indian determination to go ahead with the MIG deal. Air Vice-Marshal Ranjan Dutt is in Moscow this week exploring the terms of the proposed transaction, notably the critical issues of spare parts and repair depots. What the Indians want to pin down is their absolute operational freedom to deploy any Soviet planes they may purchase against China. Insofar as both the US and India can ascertain, the Soviets have not yet made MIG-21's available to Peking, and a sale to India would mark a milestone in the Sino-Soviet conflict.

It is difficult to become greatly disturbed at the prospect of marginal Soviet support for the overwhelmingly Western-oriented Indian defense establishment – especially in view of the fact, emphasized perennially by this journal, that the US has done much to provoke Indian interest in Soviet military purchases with its modernization of the Pakistan armed forces. But the danger of a general shift in Indian military procurement toward Moscow might in time become real if the Pentagon remains bound by existing inhibitions. The moment seems propitious for a revision of national security policy liberalizing military sales to neutralists when this is appropriate to the US interest. A decision by the President to assist India in its defense buildup against China would serve notice that the Dulles legacy is behind us and that the Kennedy Administration does not fear to enunciate its own foreign policy.

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Big Operator Billie Sol

Khrushchev barely made the front page when he said US military forces in Thailand would lead to a full-scale shooting war; he was competing for space with Billy Sol Estes. Discussion of what Billie Sol did, and how the Department of Agriculture responded, took up fully half the time of the President's last press conference. Nobody said so, but everybody knows, that any mammoth organization (the Department has about 100,000 employees) that handles large amounts of money (the Department's budget for fiscal '62 is $7.2 billion) is bound to be pressured, even infiltrated, by some smart operators. Mr. Kennedy did the manly thing: he stood by his Secretary of Agriculture, as well he might have, for Mr. Freeman's fastidious personal honesty is evident. The President also made the political point that it was his Administration, on April 5, that indicted this ubiquitous cowboy of commerce. Since then, Billie Sol's many enterprises have become everybody's business. Seventy-five FBI agents are looking into his affairs. Two Grand Jury investigations are proceeding simultaneously in Billie Sol's home state; and Mr. Will Wilson, the Attorney General, is masterminding a Texas size inquiry of his own. Senator McClellan's formidable committee will hold open hearings next month. Meanwhile, McClellan has subpoenaed the records of about 30 companies controlled by Billie Sol, as well as his 42 bank accounts and his personal files.

Setting aside the alleged use of non-existent fertilizer tanks to raise some $24 million from financiers in Chicago and points East, the points at issue are two: Did Billie Sol secure an undue amount of grain storage business as a result of his "connections," and did he get a greater number of acreage allotments for the growing of cotton than regulations of the Department of Agriculture permitted?

But there are other questions. The cotton program was enacted to preserve the family farm structure in that branch of agriculture. How is it that one operator could amass so many thousands of allotment acres? Whether he got them illegally or not, is this not of itself a cause for inquiry? The same is true of the grain storage program. Farmers can and do store their surplus grain, on government account, in their own small elavators or bins. How did so much of this business gravitate to Billie Sol?

Since moral outrage and cries for Secretary Freeman's scalp will be in such plentiful supply in the coming weeks, it is well to bear in mind exactly what is known about the Department's relationship to Billie Sol. To take the grain storage matter first: As of April 30, Billie Sol was storing in his grain elevators some 33 million bushels of grain. The greater part of it, 21 million bushels, had been left in his warehouses by the

FOOTNOTES *to the* WEEK

US FORCES were sent to Thailand, the President said May 15, "to help insure the territorial integrity of this peaceful country." Was the Thai border in danger of being over-run by several thousand Communist guerrillas from nearby Laos? If so, where was Thailand's 120,000-man Army, Navy and Air Force, to which the US has given $413 million since 1951 – plus $128.6 million in economic aid during the past decade, much of that for "defense support"? —— THE OLD NIXON *is back. He accuses a Democrat who served 21 days as director of agriculture in California of being "an alumnus of Pat Brown's college of political hacks." In 1952, Nixon said Adlai Stevenson "got a PhD from Dean Acheson's college of cowardly Communist containment."* —— 50 YEARS AGO, if stockmarket indicators had dropped one-eighth of their total value in eight weeks, there would have been panic. Yet between mid-March and mid-May this year, *The New York Times* daily average did just that. The most plausible explanation is that too much stock was bought on the advice either of five-name brokerage firms that "goofed" (Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith), or cab drivers. —— MIDDLE EAST *governments have been pressing US ambassadors to explain why Washington has made Nasser its chosen instrument. (The US has greatly increased aid commitments in Cairo during the past year.) The queries prompted a confidential State Department circular rebutting the charges of policy favoritism.* —— IMPORT FIGURES for the first quarter of 1962 show a $2.59 billion increase over comparable seasonally adjusted statistics for 1961. Exports during the same period, though $4.497 higher than imports, registered a negligible increase of $4 million. —— BACKERS OF *Lyndon Johnson-sponsored candidate for the gubernatorial nomination in Texas, John Connally, choked off a resolution at the recent Democratic convention in Connally's home county which would have praised the Kennedy-Johnson Administration.* —— GUINEA, which some once crossed off as "pro-Communist," has signed agreements permitting the Agency for International Development to insure US enterprises and wholly-owned foreign subsidiaries against political risks of inconvertibility or loss due to expropriation, war, revolution and insurrection. —— REPUBLICANS *in Illinois are saying that the Administration will be "soft" on Everett Dirksen during his campaign for reelection. The rumor is false. The President will go to Illinois in September to endorse Dirksen's Democratic opponent, Rep. Sidney Yates; a Yates-for-Senator Committee formed in Washington has public sponsorship of Secretaries Goldberg, Hodges, Ribicoff and Udall.*

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"Whe-e-e-e!"

previous Administration. Another eight million bushels had been stored in those warehouses by farmers who grew the grain – the explanation of this particular episode is that Billie Sol offered fertilizer at cut prices to farmers who stored their crops in his own warehouses. Since Secretary Freeman took over, the Department placed another three million bushels in Billie Sol's warehouses. It didn't cost the government any more to store it there than in any other approved elevator. But if this grain was diverted from other approved elevators in adjacent areas, then a suspicion of favoritism is admissible. No such evidence has yet been discovered.

The business of cotton allotment acreage is far more serious. Under the Department's regulations, cotton farmers are allotted definite acreages on which this crop can be grown for full price support by the Department, and a penalty is assessed against cotton that is grown on other land. Farmers with cotton allotments on land that is taken from them for any public purpose, can ask the Department to shift their allotments to other acreage. The purpose of this procedure, reasonable in itself, is to enable the farmer to continue to raise the crop for which he possesses the skills and the tools.

On February 17, 1961, less than a month after the new Administration took office, the Department of Agriculture amended the regulations governing such transfers of cotton allotments. One reason for this was that many applications for the transfer of cotton allotment acreage from Alabama, Georgia, Oklahoma, and other states to irrigated land primarily in Pecos and Rees County, Texas, had been received. And since four to five times the quantity of cotton can be grown under irrigation, a question of the propriety of these transfers arose. The new amendment required that the county committee to which application for transfers of this kind were made should interview the applicant personally to determine whether he had legitimately acquired the new land to which his allotment was to be shifted.

The county committees which have immediate jurisdiction here are composed of farmers elected locally. They have a certain autonomy. Discussion between Washington and these local boards of just how the amendment should be applied went on for months. Then, in July, 1961, the Department decided the transfers in which Billie Sol had been involved were suspect, though they had been apparently approved by local committees acting under the new amendment.

A special investigation was begun in July that ran until October. As a result, on December 22, 1961, the questionable allotments for 1961 were cancelled; Billie Sol's allotments for 1962 were suspended at the same time. Billie Sol thereupon visited the Department on January 6, 1962, accompanied by counsel, Sen. Ralph Yarborough and Rep. J. T. Rutherford, in order to protest the Department's action. Since further cotton planting on the disputed acreage had been suspended for the present year, the question of penalties concerned only the 1961 cotton already harvested. Billie Sol was given until May of this year to prove that those cotton allotment transfers had been properly secured by him. Upon his failure to provide such proof, the Department imposed penalties of nearly $600,000 upon him. This action will no doubt be reviewed in the courts as well as by the various investigating committees.

Cotton and tobacco are the two supported crops that have not overloaded the Department with burdensome surpluses, because farmers who grow these commodities are restricted to precisely allotted acreages. The Administration's farm bill, which has just been reported out by the House Agriculture Committee, would extend this same allotment procedure to grain. But since grain of one kind or another is grown in every state of the Union, the administrative difficulties that have arisen under the cotton program will be multiplied, and the possibility of widespread allotment scandals of the Estes type be increased. With that in mind, legislators from urban constituencies or states with few farmers will have an excuse for killing the bill. If that happens, last year's "emergency" farm legislation will be revalidated for another growing season; surpluses will rise, and controlling them will become more hopeless.

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Paid to Think

Eighty percent of federal research and development is carried out by private corporations and universities at a cost that the fiscal '63 budget sets at $12.4 billion.

Mr. Kennedy has released a report prepared under Budget Bureau direction by a committee of Cabinet members and federal science administrators, along with his own conclusions and recommendations, which add up to a reaffirmation of the government's expanding reliance on outside research and development talent. The President wants pay increases to help keep scientists on the federal payroll, a code of conduct to prevent conflicts of interest, and greater use of incentives to encourage cost reduction and more efficiency.

But what looks like an inherent contradiction remains unreconciled: if the government goes on encouraging the growth of private consulting firms, most of which pay much higher salaries than the government, the "erosion" in government laboratories to which the advisory committee has referred will continue; for federal pay scales will never match those offered outside.

Take the Defense Department, by far the largest single user of outside consultants with $7.1 billion budgeted for 1963. The Department currently has R&D contracts with more than 300 universities and corporations. What about the net worth these "think factories" are accumulating, which probably totals more than a half-billion by now: should any or all of it continue to enjoy tax-free status? And what of interlocking directorates – the fact that the same names turn up on different boards of trustees and directors?

The public has become accustomed to whole industries and major portions of others relying on federal spending, but it may be less aware of how "developments of recent years . . . have blurred the traditional dividing lines between the public and private sectors of our nation," as the advisory committee phrased it. "The major initiative and responsibility for promoting and financing research and development have in many important areas been shifted from private enterprise (including academic as well as business institutions) to the federal government." Thus, federal money finances considerably more than half the research budgets for such schools as Harvard, Brown, Columbia, MIT, Stanford, Cal Tech and NYU, for example – and few of them any longer could do without it.

Competition for R&D awards is just as hard-driving as is competition for scientists. The advisory committee indirectly has condemned what it calls "brochuremanship," or the practice of bombarding federal agencies with elaborate, expensive sales presentations on projects the agencies should be taking on.

The R&D organizations, of which there are several thousand, fall into three categories. One is typified by the RAND Corporation, established just after the war, which does "operations research" and other analytical services for its mentor, the Air Force. RAND, with 1,036 employees, now has many imitators.

Then there is the private corporation established to take on "systems engineering and technical direction" jobs. An example is Systems Development Corporation, with 3,827 employees, which develops automated procedures for the Air Defense Command. The third variety operates a government-owned R&D facility, such as the AEC's Hanford Laboratory, run by the General Electric Corporation.

Criticism of the effect of all this federal subsidy comes from many directions. Educators worry about the orientation of science faculties. Industry, government and university executives worry about raids on their staffs. Congressmen are disturbed over the growing opportunities for profit-making under the cloak of non-profit operations, especially where the same men may be making the decisions and doing the research. These are some of the misgivings that will be aired when Rep. F. Edward Hebert's (D, La.) Armed Services Investigating Subcommittee holds hearings this month.

Carroll Against Dominick

Sen. John A. Carroll of Colorado qualifies on two counts for the special honor of having been placed last year at the top of the list of Democratic Senators Republicans hope to defeat in 1962: He has a voting record that supports the President and also pleases the ADA and the AFL-CIO; and, he won his Senate seat in a 1956 battle with former Gov. Dan Thornton by only 2,700 votes. To beat Carroll this fall, the Republicans are counting on Right-thinking, good-looking, Goldwater-leaning, Peter Dominick from Colorado's Second District – Yale '37, captain of the polo team.

Colorado's Congressional delegation is split three to three between Republicans and Democrats. GOP Presidential candidates have carried the state easily since 1952, but Democrats have held the Governor's office since 1954 and they now control the state legislature by a tiny margin. Because of the state's motley political complexion, campaigners tend to stay pretty much in the middle of the road. The prototype of a successful Colorado politician is former Sen. Edwin C. Johnson, a conservative Democrat who pleased the independents, rarely offended the Republicans and usually received a healthy share of the votes of both. It will be Dominick, not Carroll, who will emphasize the liberal character of the latter's voting record and the approval Carroll has received from the ADA and the AFL-CIO. (It made Dominick's "blood boil" when the President saluted ADA members as "today's Minute-

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men.") Once Carroll puts on his campaign cloak of righteous, reasonable, mature statesmanship, Dominick may have a hard time convincing the voters that the incumbent is a liberal extremist or an unprincipled politician, however often he repeats the charge that his opponent endorses "every program of the left-wing branch of the Democratic Party."

The contest will be close, yet Carroll is favored, for though he was elected by a margin of only 2,700 votes, this was in a year when Eisenhower carried the state by 130,000. US Senators have rarely failed of reelection in Colorado, particularly when they have done a proper quota of favors for the home folks, as Carroll has done for six years; also, while President Kennedy lost the state by nearly 70,000 votes two years ago, his popularity in Colorado has plainly increased. In addition, Dominick's conservative record and his McCarthy-like attack on members of the Kennedy Administration (he has called for the firing of Stevenson, Bowles and Schlesinger) may offend some moderate voters in the middle of the road, and his Eastern prep school manner may offend some rural voters who like their candidates Western and folksy. Colorado has one Republican Senator, Gordon Allott. With a Democratic Administration in Washington and industries in the state seeking government contracts, a lot can be said for having one Senator of the same party as the Administration's.

Preventive Detention

Recently in some well-chosen words, New Zealand's Sir Leslie Munro, Secretary-General of the International Commission of Jurists, struck at the practice of "holding a person without charges on the theory that he might commit a crime," a usage euphemistically known as preventive detention. His examples were from Asia – namely India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, South Vietnam, Malaya and Indonesia – but the practice abounds in other regions as well. Sir Leslie spoke with the voice not of indulgence but of conscience, reminding governments that their right to respect lies in what standards they apply, not in what they flout.

Some developments of recent days have been slightly encouraging in this connection. In Ghana President Kwame Nkrumah has said he will desist from keeping his critics indefinitely locked up. In East Pakistan, seven former political leaders – mustering their courage in face of a decree banning all combined political action – publicly protested against the Ayub regime's wide use of arbitrary imprisonment. In a similar show of courage a group of leading women of the province issued an appeal against the detention without trial of large numbers of Dacca University students for having spoken out against arbitrary arrests.

Race in Rhodesia

The Manchester Guardian described the first visit of R. A. Butler, Her Majesty's Minister for Rhodesia and Nyasaland, to the Rhodesian Federation as the most important journey of a British Minister to Africa since Prime Minister Macmillan made his famous speech on "the wind of change." The analogy is not wholly encouraging. Macmillan's visit led to the withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth; and though it also set the stage for a more liberal British colonial policy, in the end the combination of right-wing Conservatives in London with the white settlers in Africa paralyzed British policy in Central Africa for 18 months, producing a situation today in many respects far more difficult to handle.

For the wind of change is now a hurricane. During the past year the Africans in the Rhodesian Federation have seen Nigeria, Tanganyika, Sierra Leone, and Somalia achieve total independence by peaceful negotiation – with Uganda and Kenya to follow shortly. They know that they themselves are held back only by the British Government's concern for the tiny minority of white settlers in their midst – over half of whom came to the Federation since 1950. And they have seen the Algerians achieve independence in a similar situation only after a fearful civil war.

From what he told Parliament before leaving London, Mr. Butler seems ready to let Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda's Malawi Congress Party take Nyasaland out of the Federation, provided Nyasaland retains some sort of economic association with the richer territories to the South. But London refuses to make any other changes until elections have been held in Northern and Southern Rhodesia under the latest constitutions given them.

There is a chance Mr. Butler may get away with this in Northern Rhodesia, where the moderate African leader, Kenneth Kaunda, is gambling on the chance that the complicated and equivocal electoral law will give him a majority in October. If it does not, a most dangerous situation will arise. But in Southern Rhodesia, the Africans are unwilling even to take part in an election which they are sure would be stacked against them.

The basic weakness of the British Government's position is that it remains tied to a concept of partnership between European and African which seems to assume that 300,000 Europeans should have political parity with over eight million Africans. That is totally unacceptable to Africans in the Federation for whom the very word partnership has been tainted by its use as a slogan to support white domination. It seems inevitable that within a year, Britain will have to let Northern Rhodesia join Nyasaland as an independent state. The agonizing problem then remaining will be to prevent Southern Rhodesia becoming another South Africa.

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MANIFESTO

A Statement by Eight German Intellectuals

The Evangelische Pressedienst *(Protestant Press Service) published on February 24, 1962 the text of a Memorandum, substantial portions of which follow, prepared by eight leading West German Protestants. Their views on the "German question" have reverberated throughout the intellectual community and show the presence in Germany of a line of reasoning quite dissimilar to Chancellor Adenauer's. The signatories of this manifesto are: Hellmut Becker, President of the German Adult Education Association; Joachim Beckmann, President of the Regional Church Board for the Rheinland; Klaus von Bismarck, President of the Society for Social Progress; Professor Werner Heisenberg, Nobel Prize winner and Managing Director of the Max Planck Institute for Physics and Astrophysics; Gunter Howe, specialist in natural sciences, Protestant Study Group; Georg Picht, head of the rural boarding school Birklehof/Schwarzwald; Professor Ludwig Raiser, Chairman of the Scientific and Academic Advisory Council of the Protestant Church in Germany; Carl-Friedrich Freiherr von Weizsacker, Professor of Atomic and Astrophysics and Philosophy.*

In the second decade after a total and justified defeat, that part of the German people to which we belong is living once again in freedom and economic prosperity under democratic Constitutional law. The labor of the people, the help of our allies, and the policy of our government have contributed to this. We recognize it gratefully.

With this state of well-being, however, has come a tendency in large sections of the people and among its leaders to close one's eyes to social and political grievances and to evade difficult decisions. We can exempt none of the political parties from the reproach that they have repeatedly concealed from the people the truth they ought to know, and have instead told the public what they thought it would like to hear. Too often have they developed fictitious positions, contented themselves with tactical successes, and glossed over the seriousness of our situation at the edge of the Western world.

The reproach applies equally to a large section of the public. A politician, who is dependent on votes, does not find it easy to act in opposition to public opinion. This gives rise to situations where politicians must rely on citizens who are not themselves actively involved in political life to point to the most urgent political necessities. This is the aim that has brought together the signers of this Memorandum.

Ahead of us lie difficult international negotiations about Germany. Nobody would expect the Federal Republic at such a moment as this to abandon positions prematurely or to make a present of any claims. The citizen, who is only partially informed of the on-going, unofficial talks, can make no suggestions as to how they should be conducted in detail. But he can and must take a stand on what he does see, on the basic conception of the [Bonn] government's foreign policy, and on the reaction of public opinion. Both fill us with concern. The government's foreign policy appears to us excessively defensive. The public moves in an unreal atmosphere that saturates all aspects of politics with a mixture of exaggerated demands and dull fear.

We are engaged in the struggle for the freedom of West Berlin and, beyond that, for the right of Germans in the [East] German Democratic Republic to decide their own fate. Both these demands are part of the unalterable basis of any conceivable German policy. Of our Western allies we expect that in the struggle for the freedom of West Berlin they assume the risk of a nuclear war, and that they, too, will adhere to self-determination for the Germans in the GDR as one of the most important long-range goals of Western policy. Our sole justification in making both these demands is that in so doing we are not pursuing merely national interests but are appealing for the human rights of liberty and self-determination whose defense the Western Alliance is serving.

Our struggle for a morally and legally impregnable cause is hampered by the fact that the Western world's faith in Germany was completely destroyed by Hitler's power politics and by the war. Chancellor Adenauer's great successes in the direction of restoring a relation of confidence with our Western allies must not deceive us about the fact that mistrust of Germany remains a latent but nonetheless important factor in the politics of the Western powers. A single glance at a foreign newspaper shows it.

Under the circumstances, it was a questionable step to tie the demands for the preservation of freedom in West Berlin and for the self-determination of Germans in the GDR – demands that are based on human rights – to a request not only for reunification but, beyond that, for restoration of the 1937 boundaries.

International discussions in the last six months have shown that this policy has placed even our inalienable rights in a dubious light before the international public. In the present crisis, the German position has been weak-

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ened by our adherence to claims in which even our allies do not concur. We shall be saying nothing new if we express the opinion that, whereas the freedom of the people of Berlin is a right recognized by all the world, our national desire for reunification in freedom cannot be realized today, and we shall have to abandon our claim to sovereignty in the area beyond the Oder-Neisse line.

We have reason to believe that there are responsible politicians in all parties who share the view we have expressed but are restrained by considerations of domestic politics from publicly voicing their conclusions. An atmosphere that renders it impossible for the political leadership to tell the people the truth is one that is poisoned. We shall not be equal to the crises of the coming months unless the public is prepared for a development that is already under way, and which requires measures that our people will shortly have to accept and condone.

As the most important example of the possibilities of an active foreign policy we would name the normalization of political relations with Germany's Eastern neighbors. Without it a lasting solution of the basic problems of German policy is unthinkable. The reappraisal of international policy that is now occurring provides chances for such a normalization. In order to restore confidence, it will be necessary to begin with measures [*vis-à-vis* Eastern Europe] which might include: material restitution; non-aggression pacts; and perhaps a request to Warsaw that suitable Germans who would like to return to their native country be allowed to do so.

Recognition of the Oder-Neisse border may have been a bargaining object in the foreign policy of past years. Today we join those experts who believe that official recognition of that border, within the framework of a comprehensive program of the kind outlined above, would decisively ease our relations with Poland, would more readily enable our Western allies to defend our other demands, and would deprive the Soviet Union of the possibility of playing Germany and Poland off against each other.

In its armament policy the Federal Republic must, even at the expense of many sacrifices and efforts, stand unequivocally by the obligations it has assumed under the Western Alliance, until such time as the policy of the great powers permits a general or regional arms reduction. The guiding principle today must be to enter into Western armament and defense planning with a minimum of friction. . . .

Among the nations of the world, the desire for the acquisition of atomic weapons under national sovereignty is becoming increasingly widespread. This desire is frequently associated with illusory hopes for worldwide disarmament or is at least camouflaged by such hopes for the benefit of the public. We consider it the duty of politically responsible persons throughout the world to dispel the fog of such illusions and to take action against the threats that such a policy conjures up for all nations.

In special measure does this apply to the Federal Republic. In an hour in which we expect our allies to incur the greatest risks for the defense of West Berlin we cannot demand for ourselves the kind of weapons that would not further a unified Western defense plan militarily and would endanger the unity of political action in the Western world. Inasmuch as we belong to the Western Alliance, we shall lose nothing in military security if we abstain from national prestige and power politics in the realm of defense.

This is easier for us to do than it is for the neutral nations. The statement, often heard, that we cannot allow our troops to meet the enemy with inferior weapons appears to us an expression of distrust *vis-à-vis* our allies at a time when strengthening the existing relationship of mutual trust offers the only guarantee of our security. Within the Western Alliance the distribution of weapons among the several contingents must be dictated exclusively by rational military planning and political necessity. No one denies that strong, conventionally equipped units are needed even today. It goes without saying that, within the framework of Western defense planning, this is the primary task. Aspirations toward a national or European atomic capability that could make us independent of America strike us as a military illusion and a political danger.

It would be illusory to assume that defense against Communism is primarily a matter of foreign policy and armament. The decision whether or not our social order is equal to the challenge of Communism will be made in the realm of social and cultural affairs, which can be properly understood and intelligently planned only in full realization of their interrelatedness. As we cannot here deal in detail with the very complex problems that are involved, we shall restrict ourselves to a few basic observations.

Our social and economic policy of the past years, has succeeded, in conjunction with the general rise in living standards, in bringing about an appreciable measure of individual freedom and social security, of prosperity and public welfare. But the basic social order is not necessarily sound just because for the moment everyone is well off. Its performance will depend on whether it achieves a synthesis between individual responsibility and solidarity. Individual responsibility is man's capacity for meeting the vagaries of life out of his own resources. Solidarity means that the individual finds, within the society, well-defined duties and a well-defined protection.

Only a well-thought-out, just and uncompromising economic and social policy can meet those requirements. Yet instead of formulating a comprehensive socio-political plan and resolutely pursuing it against all obstacles, the government has time and again resorted to a social policy of aimless election promises. It has shrunk from a reform of the social security system, and its handling of the medical-care program is a sad example of shortsighted tactical maneuvering. In the economic field, the fight against cartels and monopolies has bogged down. Agriculture is receiving large subsidies, but these serve essentially to preserve the *status quo*, whereas the support, upon careful analysis, ought to be so apportioned as to facilitate the inevitable conversion to [more] efficient operating methods.

In conjunction with the great shift in our society that is now in full course, the technical age has presented us with new requirements in the field of general and professional

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education to which thus far no branch of our educational system has proved equal. The public mind has not yet realized that, in the world of the 20th Century, a nation's economic potential and political capacity for survival are dependent on the state of its culture and education. A thoroughgoing reform of our cultural and educational system has become a political task of the first order. It must introduce socially equitable methods of selecting the able; it must open up to the youth from farms and countryside the same opportunities as exist for the youth of the cities; and it must make it possible to satisfy the rising need for qualified new manpower of varying levels of education.

NO DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE IN EUROPE WHILE ADENAUER REMAINS

The Chancellor's Veto

Bonn

Literally millions of words have been written and spoken since Adenauer made his two Berlin statements on May 7 and 8. The Chancellor – so his busy apologists would have it –was "misinterpreted." He had never meant to suggest that the American-Soviet talks should be discontinued; and if he cast some doubt on the US plan for an International Authority to control Berlin's communications, this did not exclude the possibility of finding some other solution of this particular problem. Above all, no slight to the United States Government had been intended. Yet there is no erasing what he said.

In the plainest possible terms, Adenauer said that he did not expect the American-Soviet discussions to reach a successful conclusion. This was additional to his view – which coincides with that of Secretary Rusk – that the discussions have produced no concrete result so far. The Chancellor also stated unequivocally that he did not think the US plan for a 13-nation International Authority was workable. This also has been laboriously played down by the Press Office, which has suggested that what the Chancellor really meant was that there were alternatives, though the only one which has emerged is for a Four-Power body to supervise Berlin's communications, and this has already been flatly rejected by the Russians.

In the third place, the Chancellor hinted broadly that the American-Soviet talks had already gone on too long, and that he saw no reason for continuing them. This goes even further than General de Gaulle, who only has said he will not take part in them, not that the talks should stop.

Adenauer also rejected out of hand the idea of a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact powers, declaring that such a pact was superfluous because NATO's aims are purely defensive anyway. And finally, the Chancellor poured scorn on the Rapacki Plan for a nuclear-free zone of limited armaments in Central Europe. He cited General de Gaulle as having said that a zone of this kind would have to stretch from the Atlantic to the Urals, or it would serve no practical purposes. In reality, the phrase was used by Adenauer himself two years ago, without quoting de Gaulle. This suggests how little the Chancellor's ideas have moved in the meantime.

Adenauer has thus rejected official US efforts to try to find an interim solution of the Berlin question, and done so with astounding nonchalance and without warning his most important ally. He has reversed his own policy (which his Foreign Minister, Gerhard Schroeder, was charged with representing at the NATO conference in Athens) of backing the American-Soviet talks while seeking to "improve" the Rusk proposals in detail. He has destroyed the all-party front which was in process of formation in Germany – composed of himself and his Foreign Minister; Herr Brandt in Berlin; the Free Democratic Chairman, Dr. Mende, and the Social Democratic Party Executive in Bonn. The members of this front were in broad agreement over the need to reach a compromise over Berlin, in order better to safeguard its communications and its very existence by means of a clear, written guarantee.

Adenauer has bewildered his Christian Democratic followers as well, but this aspect of his performance should not be overrated. His dominance in the party – as in the Cabinet – is as complete as ever. There will be no split in either; there will only be a loss of efficiency and confidence. The position of Dr. Schroeder has been sadly compromised. How are Western Germany's allies to be sure henceforth that what Dr. Schroeder says is really his Chancellor's policy, or whether it will not be openly rejected by the Chancellor soon afterward?

Adenauer's more discerning apologists are advancing all sorts of explanations. He wanted to impress the Berliners who have not forgotten his dilatoriness after the building of the Communist Wall last August. He

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wanted to show that six weeks on the shores of Lake Como had not weakened his absolute control over West German Foreign Policy (it hasn't). He was acting only as a counter-weight to the East German dictator, Walter Ulbricht, who stated in *Pravda* on April 29 that the Rusk plan will depend on Western garrisons' quitting Berlin, on West Berlin becoming a demilitarized "free" city, and on the East German Peoples Police controlling Berlin's communications (the International Authority merely mediating if a dispute arises).

This sort of explanation can be discounted. Adenauer has, in reality, reverted to purely defensive thinking. He believes that a lull in the Cold War should be used only to reiterate the need for general, controlled disarmament and German reunification. His attitude is curiously reminiscent of that of France and Britain during the 1939-40 "Phony War," founded on the imagined invulnerability of the Maginot Line.

In 1959 Adenauer killed the Macmillan plan for a zone of equalized armaments, which offered the West the chance of taking the diplomatic initiative in the East-West conflict over Germany. Now he has, to all intents and purposes, killed the Rusk plan for an interim agreement over Berlin, which might have reduced the opportunities of the Communist bloc to try to blackmail the West over its exposed outpost. The Russians might never have accepted the Macmillan plan, or the Rusk plan. But the West, it seems, will never be allowed – by its own side – to develop a diplomatic initiative in Europe. Not as long as Chancellor Adenauer remains at the helm in Bonn.

Terence Prittie

WHAT KIND OF CASTRO WILL WE HAVE IN ALGERIA?

Single-Party Democracy

Paris

It is fashionable today in Parisian political circles to appear amazed that the world, especially the so-called "free world," should be more interested in Algeria now than it was before the signing of the Evian agreements and the cease-fire. One simply cannot understand why reporters, special envoys, and statesmen are still bothering with Algeria's problems!

This is nothing but a pose, completely *à la* de Gaulle. It is a way of showing that France has other fish to fry besides Algeria; it is also a way of implying that France's competitors are laying the groundwork for replacing French influence in Algeria by their own.

In point of fact, of course, the reason for heightened interest in Algeria is simple and the French Government knows it. Despite the arrests of Generals Salan and Jouhaud, the Secret Army Organization has not laid down arms; it jeopardizes the fulfillment of the Evian agreements, and if these agreements are not enforced within the prescribed time Algeria might become another Congo and the National Liberation Front which has represented the Algerian insurrection for the past eight years might well become Sovietized. For these reasons, it seems to me, we are not wasting our time in keeping a close watch on the upheavals that are taking place in this critical corner of the Mediterranean Islamic world.

A rather prominent American observer from Tunis, who recently witnessed the frontier parade of the Algerian forces armed with heavy equipment of Chinese origin, summed it up quite brutally: "It's important for us to know what kind of Castro we're going to have in Algeria." This diplomat, whom I don't want to embarrass by naming, because I hope with all my heart that the people in Washington will listen to what he has to say, got to know the Algerian revolution very well indeed. I was impressed with his daring notions about how matters have developed in Cuba. According to him, Castro in his early years was a very different person from Castro as the world now knows him. In his opinion, Castro could have been prevented from tying himself so exclusively to Khrushchev and Mao.

Whether this theory (which seems to be anathema to Kennedy's entourage) is true or not, it states the situation neatly: (1) It is inevitable, and even desirable for the Algerians to build a strong government of a socialist type, with a planned economy of at least the Yugoslavian or Israeli type; (2) This government will be truly neutral only to the extent that any aid it may receive from France and from the West is not made to appear intimidating or otherwise suspect.

These two points are basic. They sum up the whole problem of cooperation between capitalism and planned economy, between Europe and Africa, the haves and the have-nots, the empire-builders and the exploitees of colonialism – in short, between the West and the uncommitted nations. We all know it is a problem of

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enormous scope. Tons of books and articles have already been written on it, yet the problem remains unsolved. Despite the fact that men with bold new ideas have come to power in the various North Atlantic governments, the same old traditions have in essence been retained: anarchical aid in exchange for military bases, and the exercise of control by keeping unpopular and corrupt governments in power. We know the results of this policy; the USSR has vastly increased its prestige at no extra cost to itself. A rare example of truly intelligent assistance (even though it is politically slanted against the Arabs) is that being given by Israel in Black Africa.

However, before this serious problem is faced, another much more urgent one, that of the Secret Army Organization, must be solved – not just because countless Moslem victims have been assassinated atrociously in the larger cities of Algeria by extremist desperadoes of the French Army, but more especially because of the repercussions these murders are causing in Algerian political circles.

The same thing is now happening in Algeria as has happened in all revolutions and all wars after the fighting is over: unity, once sacred to all, begins to waver; the people who had the political courage to conclude a negotiated peace based on the necessity of mutual concessions are now being criticized; the *maqui* fighters hark back nostalgically to the days of active war and find it hard to make the transition to peaceful pursuits; and finally, the differences of origin, of temperament and of ideology – temporarily submerged by the unifying tensions of insurrection – tend to crop up again more violently than ever. These developments are common to all revolutionary movements.

It is, therefore, not at all strange to note that the Algerians are paving the way for the future Algerian Republic with divergent hopes and fears. There will be inevitable clashes between Pan-Arabism, Pan-Islamism, Pan-Maghrebism (that is, the struggle for unity between Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Libya), secularism and socialism. All these strands are woven into the Algerian revolution, yet as one faction or the other stresses its particular aims, the opposition will rise against it, producing new demagogues. Competition for supremacy is another of the childhood diseases of independence.

Under these circumstances, any failure to enforce the Evian agreements, any perpetuation of the war will serve as an irritant to the revolutionary movement in Algeria and cause it to become more radical, more anti-West, anti-European and pro-Soviet – attitudes already prevalent among the Algerian minorities hostile to the Evian settlement. Owing to the fact of the war and of postwar anarchy, Algeria is going to be a no-man's land, politically speaking, for some time to come. The Algeria of tomorrow must be beaten out in the white heat of conflicting desires and passions.

COMING: *An essay by Louis J. Halle on Animal Instinct and Pacifism*

We shall soon find out whether the game has been won. The die will be cast within a matter of weeks, for preparations for the plebiscite on self-determination are underway. And then, after the game is won, new risks must be taken, choices made – and one does not choose the course of events, they tend to be thrust upon one. The choice here will be whether to assist the FLN in an operation which at first glance might appear anti-democratic: government by the one party system. In principle, under self-determination, all the various factions and outlooks should have an opportunity to be represented. But this principle is fiction, pure and simple. The FLN knows that it must have a certain amount of time if it is to build a democratic Republic, and that for the present at any rate it will have to replace French sovereignty with a degree of despotism. Within the framework of the single party, democracy will no doubt be safe-guarded by elections, by a sovereign assembly – by authority vested not in a single man but in a government responsible to the sovereign assembly. This will sit well enough with the Algerians: they are individualistic and fiery by temperament and on this point they can be trusted.

But the single party, with all its serious disadvantages (not the least of which is the danger of a trend toward totalitarianism), is becoming established as a necessity which blinds the Algerians to other possibilities. This is not true of the opposition in Ghana, for example, which goes to show that it is possible to transplant the methods of an old democracy to an underdeveloped country. In Algeria, however, the situation is different. The future Algerian regime will not understand the objections raised to a one-party system. They ascribe such objections to Western neo-colonialism which, by favoring the multiplication of small, non-representative parties feeding on Western corruption, will sabotage the mystique of labor and national reconstruction.

JEAN DANIEL

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Medical Politics

Time was when a man might have considerable skill in the medical arts, yet if his methods were grossly unethical – blatant advertising, for instance – he was deemed a quack by more circumspect colleagues.

Laymen have believed that anything else that appears to be a violation of the Hippocratic oath is tainted with quackery, but apparently that view is not, or is no longer accepted by the profession itself. When 200 New Jersey doctors announce that, under certain circumstances, they will not treat patients of whose political and economic views they disapprove, they may not be violating the oath in a technical sense, but laymen believe that they are violating its spirit. An oath that is binding only in the strictest technical sense is an instrument of deception, and deception is quackery.

Then when money that laymen pay in the belief that they are purchasing protection against a sudden need of hospital care is used, instead, to advance the interest of a political party, men who are out of pocket see in it something worse than quackery. It is malversation of funds, which is right on the border of criminality.

When an organization to which I, not a Republican, have been paying money – at a constantly increasing rate, by the way – for hospital insurance, uses the money to pay the expenses of a Republican Senator, frankly campaigning for the Republican Party, I feel swindled, and no amount of argument about the free expression of opinion will alter that feeling. When that organization is supported by the American Medical Association as representing the only acceptable form of health insurance, the AMA accepts some share of responsibility for the skin-game, which inevitably arouses suspicion that the Association has been infiltrated by quacks.

Like a great many other Americans my health insurance is divided, part of it in the Blue Cross, part in a privately-owned insurance company. If that private company were caught using my premiums as a political campaign fund, I know very well what would happen. Somebody would go to jail. I have no objection to that. I think it right and proper that somebody should go to jail; and I perceive no difference in the moral quality of the operation when it is performed by an organization approved by the American Medical Association.

On pills and philters the judgment of the American Medical Association is accepted by sensible men as authoritative; but on social and economic policies its judgment is precisely on a level with that of the Chamber of Commerce and the Tuesday Afternoon Bridge Club. It has a right to form an opinion and to express it publicly. It has a right to bring to bear every argument it can think of in support of its opinion. It even has the right to dun its members to buy a half hour of network time on NBC (May 21) so it can answer the President of the United States. But it has no right to refuse its professional services to any sick man because he disagrees with that opinion; and most certainly it has no right to approve the use of money paid for another purpose to meet the expenses of a political campaigner.

With those propositions not one practicing physician in a hundred will disagree; yet the Association as a whole appears to challenge them all. Perhaps this is because the profession, as a corporate body, cannot afford to admit limitations upon its powers, as the individual doctor can and does. The individual doctor is well aware that there are two factors over which his science has no final control. They are death and public opinion. He can postpone death, and he can sway public opinion; but in the end he must submit to both.

As a man, he admits this readily. He would consider it lunacy to deny it. But as a member of the profession he is being committed to the point of view that the profession has such authority in the sciences of economics and politics, as well as in that of medicine that it is justified in employing highly questionable methods to impress its views upon the public.

Philosophically, this is not very different from asserting mastery over death. Aesculapeus, the fable asserts, did exactly that in the case of Lycurgus and others, and for his temerity was struck by the Jovian thunderbolt. To intimate today that Jupiter Fulminator is still to be feared would be, of course, unconstitutional; but a reduction in the respect and esteem of his fellow-men, while it would not incinerate the doctor, would inflict some discomfort on him.

Yet threats to deny medical attention to political opponents and the use of insurance premiums as campaign funds are acts condemned by public opinion. This is a fact, and one just as immovable as the fact that "Death, with impartial steps, knocks at the hovel and at the palace of the king."

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The Anti-Communist Hoax

I. Who Are the Right-Wing's Real Enemies?

by Irving Brant

For the past 10 months, as an intended relaxation from 20 years' imprisonment in historical libraries and similar places of voluntary servitude, I have been traveling around the United States by automobile, with stops of two months each in Oregon, Arizona and Florida. Naturally, this involved some contact with the American populace, and in that respect it was a peculiar and slightly alarming experience. Everywhere, but especially in the two states first named, I heard that the United States was in fearful danger from something called "the Communist Conspiracy."

That might apply with a good deal of logic to Soviet imperialism, or (a danger which impresses me as much greater) to the pressure of Chinese population upon the world when that pressure comes to be magnified by Chinese possession of nuclear weapons. But no. The nature of it is spelled out most clearly in the anonymous telephone calls that came to a professor at the University of Oregon after he wrote a newspaper article setting forth, in measured and moderate terms, the hazards that he saw in the policies of China and Soviet Russia. The protests were not that he saw too little danger from overseas, but relatively too much. The right-wing reaction to his article can be summed up in six words:

"The Communist danger is at home."

You can hear that all over the country, but who and where are the Communists? A woman in Washington said not long ago that the Library of Congress was full of Communists. What was the evidence? Ten years earlier a library employee whom she knew had joined a Communist-front organization and left it when he found out what it was. That of course was merely a belated echo of McCarthyism. The new accusation has a broader sweep but is less definite and less personal. Except among the lunatics or imitators of Goebbels who identify Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles as "conscious members of the Communist Conspiracy," names are generally missing from the party tag and numbers are nebulous. But vaguest of all is the meaning of the label itself. What do these people mean by Communists, by Communism, by the nature of the danger and the sources of it?

Over and over again one hears denunciations of the income tax, protests against foreign aid, invectives against organized labor, outcries against the federal budget, condemnation of centralized government, criticism of welfare legislation. All of these seem to be connected with "the Communist Conspiracy." But to Communism itself, its principles, its objectives, its political status, its specific domestic program, its actual subversive activities – hardly one word.

At Tucson, Arizona, I listened to a debate between Sen. Barry Goldwater and Norman Thomas. Both men were opposed to Communism. What Mr. Thomas denounced, as he had been doing for 40 years, was the imposition of state socialism by totalitarian governments – the actual working Communism of Soviet Russia, Red China and other Communist countries that are ruled in ruthless fashion by a dictatorial minority, and Communist parties elsewhere that have the will but lack the strength to make such seizures. What Senator Goldwater talked about was the "extremists of the Left" who are said to surround President Kennedy. (Dillon, Hodges, McNamara?) The audience of several thousand was about equally divided between ardent supporters of the two speakers, but to judge from remarks heard during the exodus, the shellacking that Thomas gave his opponent merely led to a conviction among the Goldwaterers that he ought to be in jail.

To learn what is meant by Communism, among those who constantly proclaim themselves to be anti-Communists, one should naturally go to their most articulate spokesmen. These are, shall we say, the John Birch Society at the lowest level of intelligence and the *National Review* in the higher altitude of right-wing sophistication. As often happens in such cases, these two groups don't like each other. They are rivals and mutual critics rather than cooperators. But in two respects they are as alike as two yokes in one egg. They both regard internal Communism as a deadly menace to the United States, and from neither of them can you get the slightest inkling of what this menace consists of in the actual field of Communism.

There are three possible explanations of this anom-

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aly and all three may be correct. The first is that a person who says every day or 10 times a day, "I am an anti-Communist," will throw such an aura of patriotic respectability around his person that anybody who disagrees with him on any subject will automatically (or with his aid) be stamped as a member of "the Communist Conspiracy."

The second equally logical explanation is that "Communism" is being used as a smear word to prevent the enactment or secure the repeal of various hated laws, and to defeat the political party and candidates that support such legislation.

The third possible motive for crying "Communism" as an internal menace is to undermine and destroy political parties and constitutional principles that cannot be attacked successfully through fair discussion.

(And in government, of course, the cry wins or defeats appropriations.)

With this in mind let us see what is happening on the low road. First, how did those people in Eugene, Oregon, learn that the Communist menace is at home? Undoubtedly, by reading the pamphletized two-day speech of Robert Welch, Jr., in founding the John Birch Society at Indianapolis, December 9-10, 1958 – a speech with which the country is being flooded. Said Mr. Welch: "The danger is almost entirely internal, from Communist influence right in our midst and treason right in our government."

To fight this treasonable influence, said Welch, it is necessary to repeal all the social and economic legislation of the past 30 years. That must be done because Communism is being slipped over so gradually and insidiously that before long people can "no longer resist the Communist conspiracy as free citizens" but will be able to do so only "by themselves becoming conspirators against established government."

"What Are You?"

Repeal has failed; but if the Birchites can take credit for stagnation of new welfare legislation they have no present reason to turn their propaganda machine into a conspiracy to subvert the government. However, their description of the disease and the remedy raises this question: Is social and economic legislation being opposed to halt the advance of Communism, or is such legislation called Communistic to halt its advance?

That can perhaps be judged by noting what the John Birch Society is for and against. Here is part of its program as stated in the press at various times by Founder Welch, Editor J. B. Matthews of Welch's periodical, Judge Phelps of Arizona and other spokesmen:

– Repeal all social and economic legislation enacted since 1932,
– Repeal the income tax,
– Impeach Chief Justice Warren,
– Eliminate all church activities for social legislation,
– Take the United States out of the United Nations,
– Withdraw from NATO,
– Stop all foreign aid,
– Stop cultural and other exchanges with Soviet Russia,
– Make no disarmament agreement, with or without enforceable guarantees,
– Retain the Connally Amendment to the World Court treaty,
– Restrict labor unions,
– Pass state "right to work" laws,
– Oppose the "Communistic" fluoridation of water,
– Fight against public housing,
– Oppose urban renewal,
– Reduce the federal budget to $40 billion (presumably wiping out everything except the Pentagon),
– Take "a few thousand Communists" out of key positions in government,
– Compile a list, estimated at 1.5 million, of Communists, dupes, sympathizers, socialists and liberals for attack by national and local anti-Communist groups.

Taking these specific objectives for what they are said to be – resistance to a Communist take-over of the country – they must be considered along with Robert Welch's estimate, in his 1961 Annual Scoreboard, that the United States is from 50 to more than 70 percent "under operational control of the Communist Party." What, we may ask, is the non-Communist 30 percent of our government? What is the 30 percent advance toward Communism that would put the government 100 percent under the operational control of the Party?

To ask either question is to answer it. Communism in the United States, as seen by the Extreme Right at ground level, is identifiable as the income tax, the welfare state, and collective bargaining. Apart from that it is undefined, and being undefined it is unopposed, except by reiteration of the self-serving watch-cry, "I am an anti-Communist," with its unspoken insinuating accompaniment, "What are you?"

Part of the Extreme Right draws away from Robert Welch because of his nonsensical charges of Communism against former President Eisenhower and others. But even they – and notably Senator Goldwater and Cardinal Cushing – dissociate themselves only from his absurd personal accusations. To them, the head of the John Birch Society is either a dear personal friend leading fine people along basically correct lines (Goldwater), or (Cushing) "a capable, fearless man" who is being attacked as anybody will be "who is fighting Communism today and who knows the methods and teaching of Communism."

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Welch does indeed know the methods and teaching of Communism, for he admits that he is using them in what he himself calls the "mean and dirty" business of assault by innuendo, and in his personal dictatorship over the society he heads. But he has not used his knowledge to strengthen the United States in the struggle between democratic self-government and Communist tyranny, nor to fortify the rights and liberties of American citizens, nor to make this country an appealing example of the superiority of a free society over a socialistic autocracy.

It is evident that in the Extreme Right, the John Birch Society's hostility to the income tax, to social legislation, and organized labor far outweighs the fantastic application of the word "Communist" to conservatives like Eisenhower and Dulles. That is why 14 corporation executives line up with extremists like Clarence Manion, T. Coleman Andrews and Spruille Braden on the 24-member council appointed by Mr. Welch to pick his successor "if and when an accident, 'suicide' or anything sufficiently fatal is arranged for me by the Communists. . . ." That is why it is so easy to finance the society not only with money one step removed from corporation tills but with the smaller contributions of deluded zealots. And that is why, in every part of the United States, men and women of good intentions are parroting the false and deceitful slogan, "The danger is almost entirely internal," which cloaks the right-wing assault on the New Deal, the Fair Deal and the New Frontier.

Robert Welch is not the John Birch Society, say those members, sympathizers and utilizers who see that their cause is hurt rather than helped by his more ludicrous calumnies. But they don't pull out, and the vast majority of members are not disconcerted by these excesses. They go right on with their pressure on school boards, their censorship of public libraries (central Texas, I was told, is near the book-burning stage), their drive to oust college professors who dare to criticize them, their telephone and newspaper assaults on everybody who shows a trace of liberalism.

At the ground level, most of those who behave in this fashion are good people, sincere in their beliefs, trying to live in a world that no longer exists. They genuinely believe that "Communism" is a synonym for collective bargaining, the income tax, and social legislation that depends on public revenues. They believe it because those who attack these things most vociferously call them Communistic and describe themselves as anti-Communists.

The reasoning goes in a circle. If anti-Communists say the income tax is Communistic, it must be true, because who is a better judge of it than a man who is calling on the people to save the country from Communism? Thus the word "Communism" becomes the definition of itself, and what it really means remains as nebulous as before.

By means as unsubstantial as this, Robert Welch has built up the embattled hosts who march along the low road of professional anti-Communism, with birch clubs on their shoulders to slay the invisible homegrown demon. Let us now take the high road, and see whether the right-wing intelligentsia will tell us what they mean by the "Communism" from which they are striving to save their beloved country.

Roman Toga and Mother Hubbard

The *National Review* is the self-appointed but generally recognized literary spokesman for the Radical Right. It is a capably managed magazine, edited by men who know exactly what they are saying and why they are saying it. They can denounce the State Department for not stepping in to close the Italian Government's "*apertura à la sinistra*" without translating those engulfing words for their gifted readers. And they can dispose of the undisposable (or reveal their irritation because they can't) by referring to "Harry Golden, high priest of left-wing yahooism."

But pick up any issue of the *National Review*, read it from cover to cover, and one fact stands out. It is the identical twin of the John Birch Society, wearing a Roman toga instead of a Mother Hubbard.

The Birchites want the income tax repealed, tax and surtax. The *National Review* tolerates "a non-progressive income tax," the object being to convert the income tax, after exemptions, into a flat sales tax on both family expenditures and family savings. That would shift the main burden onto smaller incomes and release prodigious sums for the accumulation of hereditary wealth by those now in the higher income-tax brackets. The Extreme Right no doubt regards government intervention against extreme concentration of wealth as Communistic. If it is, American Communism goes back a long way. Read the words of James Madison, "father of the Constitution," in the Philadelphia *National Gazette* of January 13, 1792, calling for "the silent operation of laws, which, without violating the rights of property, reduce extreme wealth towards a state of mediocrity, and raise extreme indigence towards a state of comfort." Laws violating the rights of property were then state laws impairing contracts or wiping out debt by issuance of worthless fiat money – later outlawed by the Constitution.

The *National Review* does not shout, with the Birch Society, "Take the United States out of the United Nations." It turns its readers against the UN by asking whether it has blown up all the hospitals in Katanga yet, by endlessly denouncing the UN policies of the Kennedy Administration, by saying that in that

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body "the softest touch is Uncle $am."

In the South, the Birchites equate school integration with Communism. The *National Review* reaches the same goal – to deter right-wing support of Negro rights – by proclaiming itself in favor of "voluntary integration." (Shiver, Mississippi.) It reaches a higher goal – that of tarring the Supreme Court and the Presidency with language that properly applies to Communist governments and parties – by saying this (April 10, 1962) about the decision that struck down segregation in public schools: "For eight years *Brown* v *Board of Education* has stood as the prime symbol of the drive toward a centralized despotic mass state that has been proceeding under the direction of a united front of federal executive and judiciary."

This right-wing magazine finds in the Kennedy Administration (March 13, 1962) "a degree of hostility toward business seldom matched in the last three decades." It believes in antitrust laws but is against "the trust-busting mania" of the Department of Justice. Language still more extreme is used against the FCC, the SEC, the FCC and the NLRB which "expresses a slavish regard for union monopoly." In addition (March 27) the editors oppose "vast increases in unemployment compensation," aid to depressed areas, dogmatic rejection of mergers, continuing budgetary deficits and "irresponsible union leaders."

Liberal Juggernaut

Put together and taken simply as matters of policy, this compendium of hatreds merely duplicates the archaic thinking of a large and highly vocal part of the business world. But coupled with the *National Review's* eternal proclamation that "We are the anti-Communists," the effect is the same as the similar outcries of the John Birch Society against the same laws and agencies. The effect and evident purpose are to equate social and economic legislation with Communism. And when domestic objectives are coupled with foreign policy, the position of the *National Review* adds up to almost the full position of the John Birch Society. The double-yoked egg is ready for hatching, under the motherly warmth of Barry Goldwater.

But there is disharmony inside the shell. The *National Review* (February 13, 1962) repudiates the Birch Society's self-defeating call for the impeachment of Chief Justice Warren and condemns the Eisenhower idiocies of Mr. Welch (though the *National Review* did not, does not like Ike). The editors break with Welch not as a matter of principle or taste but "because he persists in distorting reality and in refusing to make the crucial moral and political distinction."

It took courage to deliver that blow to actual and potential subscribers and the *Review* editors did not deliver it without guarding themselves front, flanks and rear. They listed the united front of unimpeachable anti-Communists who agreed "that Robert Welch is damaging the cause of anti-Communism":

"Barry Goldwater, the political leader of the conservative and anti-Communist movement in America,"

"Walter Judd, one of anti-Communism's most eloquent and unyielding spokesmen,"

"Fulton Lewis, Jr., among the most obdurate opponents of Communism abroad and statism at home,"

"The *National Review*, whose editors are lifelong students of Communism and Liberalism."

It was unlikely, the *National Review* assured the Birchite masses, that such leaders of anti-Communism "would be stampeded by the Liberal juggernaut into unnecessary collisions with a man who is engaged in furthering Conservative ends."

The assault behind a protective guard is most revealing. Observe how every name has to be given a special and separate anti-Communist tag, like a sprinkling of holy water. Observe how "anti-Communist" is equated with "Conservative," how "Communism" is linked with "Liberalism," as if these equations were discovered by the editors in their lifelong study. And who are these "leaders of anti-Communism"? With the exception of Congressman Judd, whose long residence in China gave him a special approach, they are just a group of ultra-conservative haters of the domestic programs of Presidents Roosevelt, Truman and Kennedy. Like a teacher explaining things to an overzealous boy, the *National Review* has to remind Mr. Welch that their campaign requires "the winning of a national election, the re-education of the governing classes," and he was throwing rotten tomatoes in the wrong direction.

That brings us to the heart of the matter. What is the "crucial moral and political distinction" that Robert Welch refuses to make? Not between Communists and non-Communists. It is the distinction between Liberals and Conservatives as proper targets for the contents of the anti-Communist tar bucket. Call a widely-respected, conservative Republican ex-President a member of "the Communist Conspiracy" and you knock the tar off, instead of out of, the similarly besmirched Liberal. The chief offense of Robert Welch is not that he reduces his own effectiveness by calling Eisenhower a Communist. His mortal sin is that he reduces the effectiveness of the *National Review's* campaign to make "the moral and political distinction" between Liberals and Conservatives the basic factor in American politics. This is what the right-wing intelligentsia is trying to sell to the country. It runs through all their strategy and tactics.

This is the first of two articles

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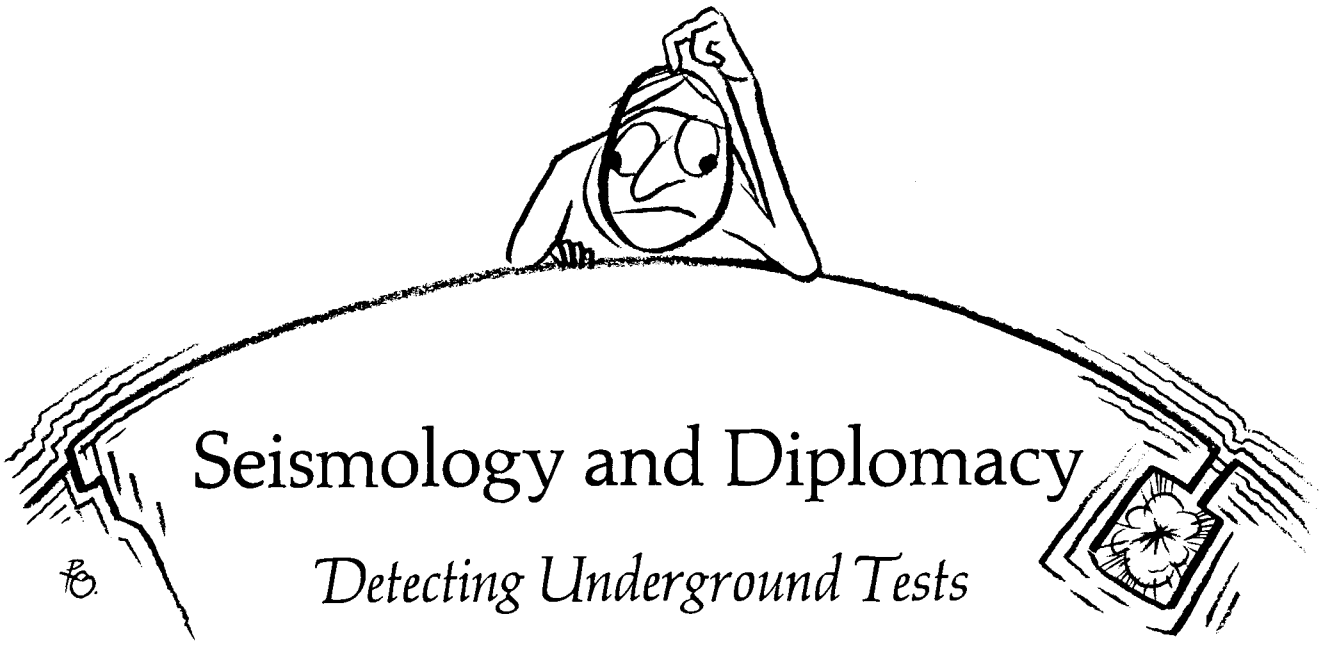

Seismology and Diplomacy

Detecting Underground Tests

by William E. Boggs

The test-ban talks at Geneva are collapsing again, this time because the Soviets, repudiating their earlier position, insist that improvements in detection techniques make any form of international control and inspection unnecessary. Further, they now reject even their own scheme for a "self-inspected" treaty unless the French – who have consistently refused any part in the talks – also sign. But while the negotiations look hopeless, Western diplomats believe that the Soviets have raised the French issue merely to ensure that there will be no treaty until the next series of Soviet tests is completed. After that, the Russians are expected to drop this pretext and resume discussion of the question that has deadlocked the conference for almost three years: how to identify underground nuclear tests.

This question has become the last major area of disagreement between East and West in the treaty talks. Contrary to popular belief, the negotiators have worked out most of the other provisions for implementing a test-ban agreement. They have agreed in principle on techniques to monitor tests in the atmosphere and the oceans, and they acknowledge the need for further research on detecting tests in space. But the US still claims that control posts within the USSR, plus a number of on-site inspections, are necessary to "identify" suspicious events detected by the control system.

The US bases this claim on the results – or rather on the lack of results – of the seismic research being carried out under Project Vela. Financed by the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) of the Department of Defense, Vela is a three-part program of research on test-detection systems: Vela Sierra involved surface-based systems for detecting tests in the upper atmosphere and in space; Vela Hotel, satellite-based systems; and Vela Uniform, seismic detection systems for underground tests.

The results of the Sierra and Hotel programs have stimulated a modest amount of dissent, but the recently released "no progress" report on the Vela Uniform project (detection of underground blasts) has provoked widespread criticism among seismologists in the US and abroad. The seismologists feel that the questions involved in the Geneva talks are political, not scientific; and many of them resent the implication that science, not diplomacy, is to blame for the stalemate.

With their traditional reticence to become involved in touchy political disputes, the scientists have debated the issue almost exclusively among themselves. But in the next few weeks, disgruntled seismologist L. Don Leet of Harvard, who feels that his criticisms of the Vela Uniform project have been ignored too long, plans to take his case directly to the public. The same tactic is being tried by scientists in the United Kingdom, who believe that their work suggests a solution to the problem of identifying underground tests. The UK experts have been remarkably temperate in their public statements, but they have leaked several reports to the press, and have let their views percolate upward to Mr. Macmillan, who in turn made them known to President Kennedy. The controversy stirred by these

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criticisms should bring the US diplomatic position at Geneva under close public scrutiny.

This controversy dates from 1958. At that time the Conference of Experts, consisting of scientists representing East and West, convened in Geneva to work out a control system to detect nuclear explosions in the atmosphere, underwater and underground. They agreed upon a worldwide network of control posts: 160 to 170 on land, and 10 ships. The posts would be spaced 600 miles apart in regions where earthquakes were frequent, and 1,000 miles apart elsewhere. According to US figuring, 19 of the posts would be in the USSR; according to Soviet figuring, 15. All posts would be equipped to detect tests in the atmosphere and underground; in addition, the ships would carry special hydrophones to monitor undersea explosions. The most controversial feature of the system, and one that has seemed of crucial importance to the West, was a provision for on-site inspections of unidentified events.

Agreement on the Geneva control system led to the Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests, which opened later in the year. In the summer of 1959 another panel of experts, known as Technical Working Group I, broadened the Geneva control system by recommending techniques for monitoring tests at high altitudes and in space. A third panel, Technical Working Group II, was disrupted late in 1959 when the US members presented some controversial data on a series of underground nuclear tests known as Hardtack II, which had been conducted the previous year at the Nevada Proving Grounds. The US scientists concluded that these tests had produced weaker seismic signals than had been predicted by the experts. Soviet scientists vigorously challenged this interpretation as being "tendentious." The session dissolved in disagreement when the US scientists introduced the theory that it would be possible to muffle or "decouple" a nuclear blast by firing it in a large underground cavity, preferably in salt or granite.

According to the new US position, the Geneva system could not detect and identify underground explosions with a seismic magnitude of less than 4.75, which the US estimated was equivalent to a yield of 20 kilotons. The State Department thereupon devised a complicated proposal that called for about 20 on-site inspections a year in the USSR. The Soviets, ever-suspicious of "espionage," responded by demanding an absolute veto over all inspections.

In 1960 the US offered a treaty that did not ban underground tests below seismic magnitude 4.75, and in 1961 provisionally reduced its on-site inspection demands to 12. The USSR offered three. Although this was the closest the two sides had come to agreeing the West rejected the Soviet offer as "inadequate."

In a speech early this year, the Secretary of State abolished the 4.75 threshold and proposed a treaty that would ban all tests without increasing the number of inspections demanded by the US. This concession, he said, was made possible by "increased experience and increased scientific knowledge." The knowledge apparently materialized quite conveniently, for earlier in the same speech he repeated the old US claim that "very little has been discovered up to date to justify a significant modification of the conclusions and recommendations of the Geneva scientists of 1958."

Secretary Rusk was dodging the issue. The experts concluded in 1958 that underground tests would be relatively easy to detect – easier, in fact, than the US has ever been willing to admit. Thus Mr. Rusk's implied agreement with the estimates of the Geneva scientists is really an admission of considerable progress in the technology of test detection. Seen in this light, the two statements in his speech are merely misleading, instead of contradictory.

The official US estimate of the capabilities of the Geneva control system was presented last July in testimony before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. The witness was Dr. Richard Latter of the Rand Corporation. In testimony that was later called "pessimistic" not only by scientists but even by Ambassador Arthur H. Dean, the head of the US delegation at Geneva, Dr. Latter estimated that the Geneva system could detect and identify atmospheric nuclear explosions larger than one kiloton carried out at altitudes up to 30 miles; that the system could detect and probably

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identify underwater explosions larger than one kiloton; that it could detect unshielded explosions larger than 10 kilotons carried out in space at distances up to a few tens of millions of miles from the earth, and shielded explosions (which have not yet been proved possible) larger than 10 to 100 kilotons. For underground tests, Dr. Latter estimated that the system could detect and locate, but not identify, fully coupled nuclear explosions larger than 0.5 to one kiloton. For fully decoupled explosions in salt, he estimated that the system could not detect a blast with a yield less than 150 to 300 kilotons; that is, roughly 8 to 15 times the yield of the Nagasaki bomb.

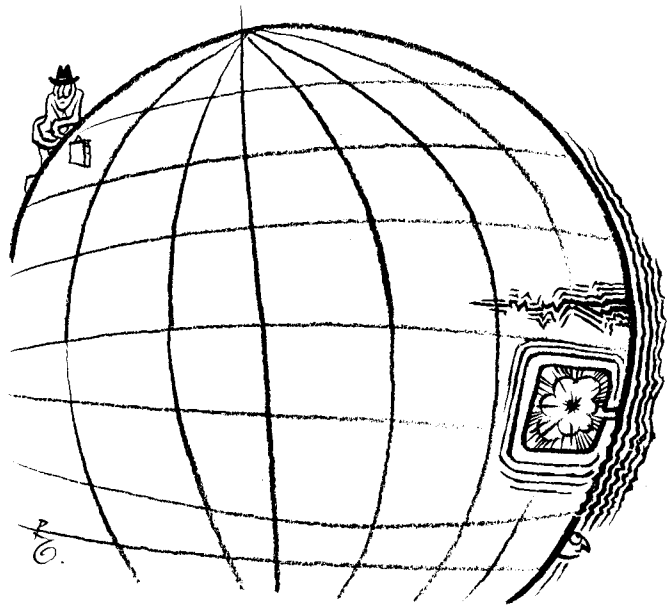
He also testified that 100 to 140 shallow earthquakes of seismic magnitude 4.75 or larger occur each year in the USSR. Only half of them, he argued, could be identified as earthquakes by the Geneva system. The remaining 50 to 70 tremors would presumably require on-site inspection.

This is an excellent apologia for continued US insistence on a large number of inspections. After reading it, one wonders about the "increased scientific knowledge" that led Secretary Rusk to raise the number of seismic events to be covered by the treaty without raising the number of inspections. But Dr. Latter's gloomy testimony presents only part of the picture, for it does not (and very properly so) take into account the military value of different types of tests, or the deterrent effect of an agreed-upon control system.

The Best Way to Cheat

Atmospheric tests, which are by far the most useful in the development of weapons, pose no serious detection problems. Nor is anyone seriously worried about underwater tests; they are hard to hide, and of doubtful military significance. The same is true of tests in space. (Theoretically such tests can be carried out by sending a rocket to an obscure corner of the solar system, separating it into two parts, and telemetering back coded data from one part about the explosion of the other.) Space tests would be expensive and difficult, and would be useful chiefly for determining whether a warhead will explode, and its approximate yield; they would be of little or no value for providing data on the effects of the weapon on specific military targets. Moreover, with a satellite detection system in operation, a potential violator of the treaty would probably have to shield the explosion from both the earth and the detectors. To do this, he would have to explode the weapon inside a lead-lined cylindrical balloon, which would have to be inflated in space and oriented with fine precision.

The deterrent effect of the Geneva system on the plans of a potential violator was emphasized by Dr. Herman W. Hoerlin and Dr. Donald R. Westervelt of



the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, both of whom have had extensive experience in the development and testing of nuclear weapons. In a letter to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, they stated that even a limited detection capability can make clandestine testing "technically very difficult, extremely wasteful in terms of scientific manpower, and economically expensive." Consequently, they "cannot share his [Dr. Latter's] pessimism" about the capability of the system.

To a potential violator of a treaty, an underground test would probably seem easier and less risky than a test in space. But there would still be powerful drawbacks. Because underground tests must be relatively small, they can yield only a limited amount of information; they are chiefly useful in testing small-scale prototypes of new weapons. Other drawbacks are time and expense; to hollow out the 750-foot cavity necessary to muffle a 90-kiloton test would take more than two years and cost more than $14 million. Moreover, to keep the risk of detection at a minimum, the site should be located in an area subject to frequent earthquakes, which would complicate the excavation problems. There is also the danger of "venting": the escape of radioactive debris into the atmosphere through a fissure opened by the blast. This unpredictable – and perhaps unpreventable – accident occurred in both the Gnome test last year in Nevada, and in the recent French underground test in the Sahara, although in both cases the engineers at the site took every precaution against it.

Although the chances of getting away with an underground blast may seem slim to a potential cheater, they will naturally look larger to the nation that has to detect him. The only way to detect an underground test at long range is by its seismic signature. The tech-

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nique depends on the fact that any violent underground shock sets up vibrations, or waves, that travel through the rock layers of the earth. Some of the waves travel along the surface, and others, known as body waves, travel through the earth's interior. Body waves are classified as primary (P) or secondary (S) in the order of their arrival. They are detected by a seismometer, an instrument consisting of a massive frame anchored in the earth, and a weight that is either supported by springs or hung as a pendulum. As the waves reach the instrument, the frame vibrates with the earth while the weight remains stationary. The relative motion of the two is detected and amplified, either mechanically or electrically, and recorded as a wavy trace on a moving strip of paper. The complete apparatus, including the recording device, is called a seismograph.

To the layman, a seismograph record of a blast looks identical to that of an earthquake, but an expert can usually detect small differences. In a few cases (about five percent, according to physicist Hans Bethe) the event cannot be identified as an earthquake from seismic records alone. It was this problem that led the Conference of Experts to recommend on-site inspections. It also led the Department of Defense to underwrite the Vela Uniform project.

Seismic Detection

Government-sponsored research has stressed three main criteria for identifying the seismic signature of a blast; scientists call them *first motion, depth of focus* and *location of the epicenter*. The *first-motion* effect depends on the fact that in an earthquake the rocklayers of the earth's crust undergo a shearing motion that compresses the surrounding rocks in some directions, but not in others. On the other hand, a blast compresses the surrounding rocks in all directions. Thus the first wave from an earthquake should appear as a compression, or "peak," at some seismograph stations and as a rare-faction, or "trough" at others; the first wave from a blast should appear as a peak at all stations. The Geneva Experts predicted that by determining the first motion on the seismograph tracings of many stations, the control system could distinguish a blast from an earthquake.

The first-motion technique has two chief drawbacks: *background noise* and *the shadow-zone*. Background noise is the name given to all the unwanted signals that register on a seismograph. These signals, which can be compared with the interference and "static" picked up by household radio receivers, sometimes obscure the first motion on the seismograph trace. The relative strength of the signal – the *signal-to-noise ratio* – can be increased by using arrays of 10 to 20 seismometers connected by cables to a central recording station; the multiple signals from the array are added electronically and recorded on magnetic tape. The data is later processed by computer to "phase out" the noise. Another method of reducing noise is to place seismometers in deep bore holes, or on the ocean floor, locations which are seismically much quieter than the earth's surface.

The *shadow zone* is created by the bending of seismic waves as they pass through the earth. As a result, the waves are undetectable in a zone extending from about 600 to 1,500 miles from their source; this area is called the shadow zone, or the second zone. To be effective, a detection station must lie either in the area closer than the shadow zone (the first zone), or in the area just beyond it (the third zone). Under the spacing permitted by the Geneva system, there will rarely be more than two stations in the first zone, which is not a large enough number to apply the first-motion criteria with a reasonable degree of certainty. But by using arrays and deep-hole seismometers to reduce the noise level, seismologists might be able to get clear first-motion recordings at a sufficient number of stations in the third zone.

Some events that might appear questionable from their first-motion records can be identified as earthquakes by determining their depth of focus. This criterion derives from the assumption that nuclear tests would probably be fired less than a mile underground, whereas the focus (the point of origin) of an earthquake usually lies at a much greater depth.

If the first-motion and depth-of-focus findings failed to identify a suspicious event, seismologists would then attempt to locate its epicenter (the geographical point on the earth's surface directly above the focus). By observing the arrival times of seismic waves at several stations, and by using known travel-time curves to calculate how long they were en route, an expert can calculate the approximate epicenter of almost any seismic disturbance. If the epicenter lies in an area where nuclear tests are unlikely, such as a heavily-populated region, the event is probably an earthquake. If the epicenter lies in an area where earthquakes are rare, it is probably a blast. This logic would be of little value, however, in identifying suspicious events occurring in regions subject to frequent earthquakes, such as the Kamchatka Peninsula of the USSR. In that case, the chief value of locating the epicenter would be to tell the on-site inspectors where to drill.

No combination of these techniques appears capable of identifying all of the disturbances that they detect. There will always remain a certain number of unidentified events. The number that might occur each year in the USSR is a topic of debate; if one accepts Dr. Latter's conclusions, then it appears that there will be more than 100 seismic events each year within the USSR that could not be distinguishable from tests.

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It would be almost impossible, and certainly impractical, to inspect all of these events even if the Soviets would allow it, which they undoubtedly will not. A single, thorough inspection can cost millions of dollars and require up to two years. US findings indicate that it would not be feasible to carry out more than 12 such inspections a year. This number thus appears to be the upper limit to what we can logically ask for at Geneva.

Leet's "Lonesome P"

Professor Leet, director of the Harvard seismograph station, believes, however, that the lower limit is zero, or, at most, one or two inspections a year. According to his own calculations, "If you can detect it, you can identify it." He maintains that the Geneva system can be improved to this capability by adding a few more earthquake seismologists, such as himself, to the Vela Uniform program. In a letter to the *New York Times*, which that newspaper declined to publish, Leet stated: "If the Department of Defense, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, or any other agency of our government wants for good and sufficient reasons to insist on frequent inspections of Russia, that's fine, and I'm all for it if it is urgently needed. But I dissent vigorously from their trying to make it appear that they are helpless victims of the intransigencies of nature, and basing their policy on the 'experimentally proven' difficulty of detecting by seismological means pact violations involving underground shots. They have proven nothing of the kind."

Professor Leet's charges have appeared in the *Harvard Crimson* and in the magazine *Cambridge 38*. A longer article by Professor Leet will appear in the June issue of *Scientific American*. Because his opinions about the Vela Uniform project find almost no support among his professional colleagues, the article should, as one seismologist put it, "create quite a stir."

In the article, Professor Leet lists four major differences between the seismic records of blasts and earthquakes: first, for blasts, the ratio of the energies of Secondary and Primary waves is greater than the corresponding ratio for earthquakes; second, the period, or cycle, of blast waves is shorter than that of earthquake waves having the same total energy; third, the presence of certain types of surface waves (known as hydrodynamic and coupled waves) at short distances from the epicenter is characteristic of blasts; fourth, and most important, at long distances from the epicenter the S waves disappear, leaving only waves that Professor Leet calls "the lonesome P." He feels that taken singly these criteria have their limitations, but taken together they constitute a foolproof method of distinguishing blasts from earthquakes. He concludes that although one or two inspections might be useful to check on whether or not the system is working, essentially the Soviets are correct in claiming that on-site inspections are no longer necessary.

Between the extreme position of Dr. Latter on the one hand, and Professor Leet on the other, lies the viewpoint taken by seismologists in the United Kingdom. Although their work has, in general, paralleled that of some of their American colleagues, there is a notable difference of opinion about the significance of the British results.

The UK approach has emphasized studies of first motion, using a large cross of seismometers, to improve the signal-to-noise ratio. The British seismologists set up one of their arrays at a site near Laramie, Wyoming, and reported "very good results" in monitoring recent US underground tests, particularly the Gnome explosion. American seismologists agree that the British

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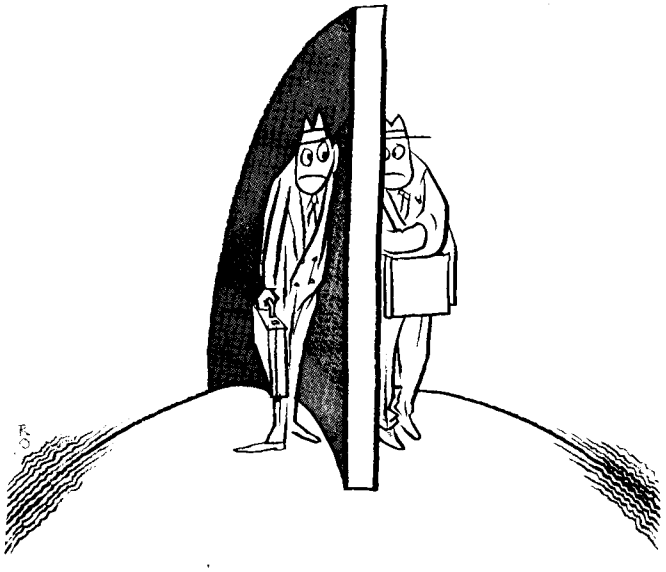
arrays sharply improve the signal-to-noise ratio, but do not agree with the British claim that the arrays will improve the present capability to identify the source of a detected disturbance.

Seismologists in the UK are also optimistic about improving the technique for determining depth of focus (how far beneath the earth's surface an earthquake has occurred). A method based on the work of Dr. H. I. S. Thirlaway of Atomic Energy Authority promises to yield more precise data than present ones, particularly when combined with the use of arrays and computers.

The Political Decision

The seismological evidence suggests that the present US policy in Geneva exaggerates the difficulty of policing a test ban treaty. The two main reasons seem to be; first, that planners in the State Department believe that an uninspected treaty would set a dismal precedent for negotiations on general disarmament; and second, that planners in the Atomic Energy Commission, the CIA and the Department of Defense must somehow justify their demands for control and inspection, which they believe are powerful deterrents to Soviet aggressive behavior. They argue that the presence of international control posts on Soviet soil would make it more difficult to conceal preparations for tests, and that the threat of inspection would increase the risk of being caught. Their aim is to make this risk so great that it would outweigh the possible military advantages of cheating.

But the deterrent value of existing detection methods already appears adequate for this purpose. Even without on-site inspection, the Geneva system, or perhaps a more elaborate national system, could identify any significant series of underground tests. From a technical standpoint, as *The New Republic* pointed out last month, the risks involved in a nationally-monitored treaty are not much greater than of an internationally-monitored one. And the technology of seismic detection will undoubtedly improve. Moreover, the US can also rely on other than seismic means of detection, including spies, reconnaisance satellites, Soviet defectors, and so on. Any nation would find it difficult to keep secret the deployment of a mass of field equipment and personnel necessary to prepare a test site. The real question, as a prominent seismologist put it, is: "Just how small a test do they want to be able to identify? This is a political decision and it should be made at the Presidential level."



As for the State Department's concern for inspection as a precedent, I would underscore the comment of Morton H. Halperin of the Harvard Defense Studies Program: "The Administration should be clear whether it wants international inspection and an international organization because they are required to implement the step under consideration [a test ban], or only to pave the way for further steps. The two have become so hopelessly tangled . . . that now the Administration finds it difficult even to contemplate a nationally-monitored test suspension."

A way to break the Geneva deadlock was suggested in 1960 by the chief of the Soviet delegation, Mr. Semyon K. Tsarapkin: "We believe that the question of inspection could and should be settled as a political question, independently of the contentious problem of the number of unidentified events." Of course the present attitude of the Soviets – that they will permit no inspections whatever, and allow no control posts on their soil – makes it difficult for the US to settle the issue politically without losing face. After the next round of Soviet nuclear tests, however, the political climate will probably be favorable for some compromise that the US could safely accept, perhaps a proposal to revert to the former Soviet offer of the Geneva system and three inspections a year. If the Soviets refuse that, the next step could be to agree to a ban with a single inspection a year. This would have some value as a deterrent, and it would still not set a bad precedent for talks on general disarmament.

Finally, the only kind of treaty we may be able to get might be a nationally monitored one. This, of course, would require a reappraisal of US policy, and a strategic retreat from a position based more on propaganda than on scientific fact. To save the earth from further radioactive contamination, to put a brake on the race to test nuclear weapons, and to take even one halting, skeptical step toward disarmament, the price would seem to me to be a small one. One fact is certain: the next break-through on the test-ban problem will have to come not from the laboratory, but from the White House.

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In Fear of Thinking

by Irving Howe

Alan Sillitoe, the young English novelist, enjoys about as many gifts as a writer dares hope for. He can make a narrative move at whatever speed his material requires; he can record with pungency and force the speech of lower-class Englishmen; and he possesses the single most important advantage a writer can have: a subject that grips, even tyrannizes his imagi-

Key to the Door
by Alan Sillitoe
(Knopf; $5.95)

nation, leaving him neither in peace nor exhaustion. He has written a notable first novel, *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*, picturing the good-natured nihilism of young English workers in the post-war, post-ideological years, as well as a remarkable story, "The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner," which showed a capacity for moving beyond the parochial strengths of his realistic subject-matter.

Only one gift seems lacking, the gift of mind; and that I take to be mainly the result of Sillitoe's own wilfulness. For the trouble is not that he can't think, but that he seems to look upon thinking with distrust, as if it were an enemy of the creative impulse. Like so many American writers, he shares the romantic assumption that a capacity to handle ideas would dry up the juices of his prose or lower the charge of his manliness: he wishes, as a writer, to preserve himself in a state of pure and spontaneous energy. In *Saturday Night* this notion leads to an indulgent "acceptance" of the sporadic violence and constricted consciousness of the young proletarian hero, Arthur Seaton. In Sillitoe's new novel, *Key to the Door*, it creates still more trouble, doing major damage to what could have been an impressive book.

Key to the Door breaks into two parts. The first is a rich evocation of life in an English industrial town during the depression years, and the second an often exciting account of the campaign conducted by the English army against Communist guerrillas in Malaya directly after the war. The climax of the novel comes when its hero Brian Seaton, who has been transported from the slums of Nottingham to the Malayan jungles, refuses to shoot the enemy troops because in some vague sense he regards them as his comrades. Now it would be easy to say that the excellence of the first section – marred only by surplus of detail – is due to the fact that Sillitoe approaches the life of the Nottingham workers without preconceptions, submitting his imagination to all he remembers and has absorbed from his own past, while the fuzziness of the second part shows him a captive of an ideology which undoes him as a writer. But such an analysis, though following the bias of contemporary criticism, would be inadequate.

For the truth is, I think, that both the strength and weakness of Sillitoe's novel proceed in good measure from the ideas he brings to and draws from his material. The difference is not between spontaneity and preconception, freedom and ideology, but between an idea deeply lived through and an idea not seriously examined. The concept governing Sillitoe's picture of working-class life in the thirties is roughly that which can be found in Richard Hoggart's splendid book *The Uses of Literacy* and which partly goes back to the D. H. Lawrence who wrote the first half of *Sons and Lovers:* it is a profound conviction as to the dignity, warmth and protective cohesion of working-class life in England. As it appears in Lawrence's fiction and Hoggart's commentary, this idea is singularly free from sentimentalism; so too in Sillitoe's novels, except at those points where, in accord with certain fashions of the fifties, he feels obliged all too cozily to "accept" the limitations of this mode of life. But in the main, whenever Sillitoe is sketching his vivid set-pieces of the proletarian milieu – when he shows the dense affection and quarrelsome solidarity of the Seaton family life, when he describes Brian's stormy courtship, when he fills in the story of troubled men scrambling for bread and beer in the thirties – he is working within the fruitful confines of an idea that by now can be regarded as "traditional" in modern English fiction. Sillitoe adds something important to that idea by illuminating the casual nihilism that has often accompanied the communal spirit of the English workers; but even in doing this he writes with the assurance of a novelist who knows in his bones, if not his head, that others have come before him and helped prepare the way for his originality.

Once Sillitoe reaches the second half of *Key to the Door* and must confront certain new issues of 20th Century politics, he is in grave trouble. For now the idea governing his presentation is sentimental and ill-considered. Brian Seaton is a tough young worker, like his brother Arthur in *Saturday Night*, but he is also supposed to display incipient flashes of thoughtfulness. He is meant to be not merely an instinctive rebel, but a rebel searching for a rationale by which to live and act, so that his refusal to fire at the Communist guerillas comes to be "the key to the door," the act of defiance by which he discovers the meaning of his anger.

As the story develops, however, Sillitoe fails to justify Seaton's concluding act. Nothing that has been shown to us, other than a few bare hints concerning Communist shop stewards in England, warrants the supposition that Seaton would refuse to shoot or would have any understanding as to why he refuses. More important, nothing in the

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novel indicates that Sillitoe himself has thought through the significance of the conclusion he provides. Can the easy-going and anarchic nihilism of the Seatons be reconciled with a fraternal gesture toward Communist troops, and if so, what is the valuation Sillitoe would have us put upon it? For Seaton does not refuse to shoot the guerillas because they are fellow human-beings; presumably, if they were of another political color, his hand would not tremble at the gun. A humanitarian or ethical justification for his conduct is thus ruled out, while a political one remains unprovided; all that is left, then, is a gratuitous and sentimental gesture.

I am not trying to insinuate that Sillitoe has the "wrong" kind of politics: he probably does not, and in any case, that is not the issue. The point to be made is more important than Sillitoe's opinions: it is that a principled refusal of thought by a novelist will necessarily lead to literary incoherence. And the more's the pity, since Sillitoe is really an original writer. Perhaps someone should whisper in his ear that when you use your mind, you don't use it (or anything else) up.

A Flight that Changed History

by Richard L. Strout

If Gary Powers had stuck himself with his poison needle as the U-2 plane circled helplessly downward over Russia, May 1, 1960, history would have been different. The Summit might have succeeded, Eisenhower would have visited Russia. The plane had been dreamed up as a floppy-winged glider built round a jet engine. It was equipped with a camera that could spot a golf ball on a green at 50,000 feet. It flew right across Russia bringing back so many photographs technicians couldn't process them. Experts figured it could thumb its nose at Soviet defense for maybe four years. They were right, the time limit expired just before the May Summit.

The U-2 Affair
by David Wise and Thomas Ross
(Random House; $4.95)

A Soviet rocket – or something – hit Powers. He didn't use the needle or press the "Destruct" button that would have exploded three pounds of cyclonite. Four days later Khrushchev told Russia he had downed a spy plane; he asked if Eisenhower – his friend of Camp David – knew about it. He implied that the U-2 was demolished and the pilot dead. It was a nice trap and worked beautifully as this book, a brilliant little thriller by two Washington newspapermen, recalls. The reader will not believe till he gets into it how the express-train style will catch him up.

A huddle of Washington officials, which Eisenhower briefly attended, decided that it was safe to issue the prepared "cover" story about poor Powers being shot down on a meteorological flight. That was May 5. On May 7 Mr. K. sprung his trap: he had the plane and the pilot – who was talking. Again he asked, Did Eisenhower know?

Eisenhower was golfing with George Allen at Gettysburg. He did not seem upset by K's second speech. State Department officials swarmed like ants. Herter was back, wrote out and with some difficulty got Eisenhower to approve a new ambiguous statement dropping the cover story but asserting that there was "no authorization" for the Powers flight. The authors say, "For the first time in its 184-year history, the government of the US had conceded publicly that it had deliberately lied, that it had committed espionage, and violated the territory of another country."

Neither the President nor Hagerty, who was with him at Gettysburg, was happy. It was an obsession with Hagerty that the President must appear to be in active control at all times. The Herter statement implied that Eisenhower didn't know what was going on. Overnight the President reversed his decision. The authors say, "Later, stories went the round in Washington that Hagerty was solely responsible for the President's decision. The press secretary disagreed." In any event, Hagerty rode back to Washington in the same car with President who, next day, publicly took full responsibility for the spy flights.

Now came the most curious phase of all. Without specifically saying so Administration spokesmen repeatedly and deliberately left the impression that U-2 flights would continue. Eisenhower went off to Paris apparently feeling that he could negotiate with a country whose sovereignty, in Lippmann's phrase, he would continue to threaten. The authors explain it simply:

> "As the Paris Summit approached, Eisenhower's temper began to flare behind the scenes. To his intimates at the White House he said, in effect, 'We're not going to have any more of those damn flights, but we won't say so'."

If the explanation above is correct it recalls Aaron Wildavsky's study of "Dixon-Yates" (Yale University Press; 1962) where the angry President refused to admit at press conferences anything improper in Adolphe Wenzell's role, even after its disclosure.

How about Gary Powers? He was a master-pilot, had courage to fly the U-2, loved his family and just didn't see the sense of dying. At the trial in Moscow he regretted that he had done his country "a very bad service" and saw the error of his ways. Is he a symbol of something or other? He was shortly swapped for the Soviet master-spy Rudolf Abell (who made no admission of regret!) and appeared before a Senate committee, which conspicuously avoided any searching questions. He drew all his back pay.

In the melodrama of the Summit, Eisenhower behaved with dignity and Khrushchev like a boor; unfortunately K had all the good lines. "Like a swimmer caught in a pounding surf," say the authors, "Washington had been unable to rally from each succeeding wave before a new one came smashing down."

The Presidential campaign was starting. Back in New York on a TV show the unfortunate Nixon prematurely argued that U-2 flights were necessary and should continue. Adlai Stevenson and Kennedy were savagely denounced for hinting that somebody had bungled. When Eisenhower returned to Wash-

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ington he rode under a banner reading, "Thank you, Mr. President."

This is not a partisan book in any normal sense. The authors conclude that any great secret operation like the U-2 affair generates a kind of momentum of its own. As they drily observe, the 1961 Cuban invasion shows that no President is "invulnerable" to such momentum, and that no Administration has a monopoly of "incompetence" in dealing with it. The U-2 flights were continued up to the Summit, they believe, because the intelligence community thought the Summit might be a success and would make further flights politically impossible.

Looking over the evidence one sees that both Russia and America misjudged the other. A skillful driver crosses before an oncoming car assuming that the other is a skillful driver too, and will do the orthodox things. So Washington assumed Moscow would not publicly acknowledge that it had been spied upon for four years and Moscow assumed Eisenhower would not publicly admit he had authorized such spying. Both were wrong and there was a smash up. Later at Vienna Mr. K. repeatedly told Kennedy that he did not think the General knew about the spy flights.

The authors note laconically that even after the U-2 disillusionment the American press and public seem as prepared as before to take the official version of news as gospel. Seemingly they accepted the CIA's account of the episode when it was presented flatteringly at the Senate hearing.

Did Khrushchev wreck the Summit? Could an American President, the authors retort, sit down with a man who threatened to send planes over New York or Chicago? They add, "By lying, when it could have remained silent, by admitting it had lied, by disclaiming Presidential responsibility, then admitting Presidential responsibility, and finally by implying the flights would continue, the United States all but made it impossible for the Summit meeting to take place."

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A Likely Story

By DANIEL GORDON
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MOVIES

Late Spring Roundup

Nothing is sorrier than the occasional article that attempts to show how independent low-budget American film production is "answering" various European New Waves. The same four or five American films, some of them a few years old and none of them really good, get re-shuffled in these essays. But now another film can be added to the pack, one with several virtues: Roger Corman's *The Intruder*.

The Intruder (Pathé-America)
Whistle Down the Wind (Pathé-America)
The Devil's Wanton (Embassy)
I Like Money (20th Century-Fox)

Made from Charles Beaumont's script based on his own novel, this picture tells of the effort of a sort of John Kasper to hamper school integration in a Southern town. The camera-work and editing are crisp and inquisitive. Corman has drawn from William Shatner, the agitator, his first interesting performance. He has cast a warm-hearted behemoth named Leo Gordon as a fast-talking salesman and has discovered (for me, anyway) a trenchant actress named Jeanne Cooper – the salesman's smoldering wife. Herman Stein's score is vigorous. These elements, plus the fact that the film was shot mainly in Missouri with local people in small parts and in the crowds, give it a chilling veracity, which is finally dispelled by a totally incredible happy ending.

Two more points are noteworthy. The use of derogatory racial epithets delayed the seal of approval that is granted by Hollywood's self-censoring organization. The seal was granted at last because the racist who uses these terms is eventually discredited. Second, this film was "stolen," as the phrase goes: made in "enemy territory" by withholding the complete script from the 32 amateur participants and the extras. (The townsfolk's growing suspicions actually endangered the film-makers.)

an effort to solve the philosophical problems behind the practical dilemmas of human society

MEN AND NATIONS

by Louis J. Halle,
former adviser on American foreign policy in the U.S. State Department

In a world too small, too heterogeneous, and too explosive to survive basic misunderstandings, the fate of man depends on how men view each other as individuals and as groups. Thus Mr. Halle sees political philosophy as an application of "The Philosophy" which is fundamental for an understanding of life in all its aspects. He develops this philosophy in its relation to politics, taking a step further in the great tradition of Hobbes and Rousseau. $4.75

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This strategy highlights the essential inutility of the film. No one will be affected by it – and probably few will see it – except those who already disagree with racism.

This is not to argue against telling the truth of shameful situations. But a film that explored the causes of segregation, its moral and social distortion, and the inevitability of its defeat, that implied no Northern perfection of race equality, might possibly influence those Southerners who are at all susceptible to change of mind in this matter. *The Intruder* forcefully reports a contemporary ugliness, but that report is no longer news. Its lack of context, its irrelevant sexual excursions, its final falseness, its air of a daring descent into moral slums, insure that it will have little helpful effect on the appalling situation it depicts so vividly.

In *Whistle Down the Wind*, an English film, some farm children think tht an escaped murderer is Jesus and help him to hide in their barn. Eventually he is re-captured by the police in a scene that is meant to represent the smashing of childish faith by adults. Keith Waterhouse and Willis Hall have put some salt into Mary Hayley Bell's saccharine story, but they have been unable to give it content. The story has a trickily effective beginning and a moderately effective conclusion, but no middle. Nothing really happens in the film; the kids make their initial mistake about the fugitive and after a while he is captured. That's all. The incident is not used for any poetic, religious, or ironic significance.

Alan Bates is vacuous as the fugitive but his part asks for little. Hayley Mills displays more of her faintly thyroidal but irresistible charm as the oldest child, and a boy named Alan Barnes, thickly Yorkshire, is the most taking youngster to cross the screen since *The Little Kidnappers*. The film is the directorial debut of Bryan Forbes, deservedly celebrated as a screenwriter. He can at least be complimented for his work with the children and his establishment of a drizzly gray climate as a surprisingly pleasant norm.

An early Ingmar Bergman film, made in 1948 and now released here as *The Devil's Wanton*, is worth seeing as an example of the truth that many serious artists have only a few themes which they re-use all their lives. This is a kind of rough-draft film dealing with those questions of the purpose and loneliness of existence that are still Bergman's subjects.

A young writer interviews a prostitute and, after a quarrel with his wife, goes to live with the girl; when he returns to his wife, the girl commits suicide. This proves to a film director, who knows the writer, that he must not make a picture suggested by an old teacher of his: on the theme that hell is here and the devil rules. The theme is too true and the film would fail. The picture is a bit tedious, except for the character of the pimp played by Stig Olin, but it is smoothly made and shows both fluency with the medium and an understanding of actors. It also forecasts the power of introspection that Bergman later developed so beautifully. If his sense of organic statement had developed equally with his power to probe, his best films would be masterpieces.

Peter Sellers directed himself in *I Like Money*, so has only himself to blame for the result. This new version of Pagnol's *Topaze* has a diluted script by Pierre Rouve that runs about an hour before the plotwheels begin to turn. The gentle satire about an impoverished teacher who is metamorphosed into a shady financier degenerates into a slow series of predictable character-actor tournaments. Sellers' chief competitor is Leo McKern, the headmaster, who provides a performance that would barely have graced a 19th-Century provincial stock company. Michael Gough is better, Herbert Lom is worse. Nadia Gray is lovely. Sellers is lost. He never decides whether to play for sympathy or vindictive bite and he gets stranded in between. His director has not helped him.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

THEATER

Vox Populi, Vox Box

Fiddled by Walter Kerr while Broadway burns, here is one of the favorite tunes of the theatrical intelligentsia (music and lyrics by *Vox Populi*): "Theater is for the people, and for the largest number. . . We are told . . . that the only way we can reach great numbers of people is to stoop or pander to them. That is not in the least true. Think of . . . Shakespeare, Sophocles, or Molière." Mr. Kerr has been thinking of these dramatists for a long time now, invoking their shades whenever he wishes to deplore the "snobbishness," "abrasiveness," and "difficulty" of theatrical art since Ibsen. Recently, he has come to believe that even the commercial drama is "an unpopular form in America," presumably because it reaches fewer people than the movies or TV. Seven years ago, Eric Bentley called this kind of thinking "democrateering," and it is heartening to see that Mr. Kerr has never lost his faith in the instinctual good taste of "the folks out front." Nevertheless, I do not think that his vision of a quality theater for "massive audiences" will ever materialize, especially if it is based on precedents from the past – for such analogies are full of pitfalls and inaccuracies.

A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum
by Burt Shevelove and Larry Gelbart
Music and Lyrics by Stephen Sondheim
(Alvin Theater)

As a matter of fact, even the most popular classical dramatists never reached "massive audiences": the longest-lived success of the Greek, Elizabethan, and French Neo-Classical theaters would hardly have filled a Broadway house for three weeks. Nor is it true that they never pandered to their audiences – I except the Greeks who were writing for a religious congregation, but Shakespeare, for example, certainly made frequent concessions to the groundlings, and blushed over them in his sonnets. The quality of the pandering, of course, de-

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pends upon the pander, but it also depends upon the customer; and we must be careful to distinguish between the popular elements of a class society, bound by a common tradition, common interests, and vigorous folk instincts, and the popular elements of a mass society, dehumanized by the mass media, demoralized by industrialism, and degraded by the lack of any common purpose beyond materialistic and status success. If we imagine Shakespeare returning today, as Dostoevsky imagined the return of Christ, he would have three possible alternatives: either to withdraw into a "snobbish" and "abrasive" art of revolt against the brutalization of mass man; to conform and write middle-brow Broadway plays for the wealthy theatergoer; or to reach Mr. Kerr's "massive audience" by turning out suburban situation comedy for the *Danny Thomas Show*. But it would undoubtedly extend even Shakespeare's substantial powers to satisfy all modern tastes and himself at the same time – assuming, of course, that the sponsors, producers, backers, networks, agencies, and all the other enemies of honest art would even let him try.

Actually, only one modern artist – Charlie Chaplin – ever managed to appeal to all levels of culture, and he succeeded only when he was working in a more popular genre. For if tragedy was too bleak for progressive America, then ebullient comedy was its natural form of expression; and if a serious work of genius like *Monsieur Verdoux* inevitably flopped with its audiences, then the more lighthearted *City Lights* could still be a popular success. Similarly, in the twenties and thirties (when the country was still vigorous) the work of comic roustabouts like W. C. Fields, Buster Keaton, and the Marx Brothers was also a substantial source of national amusement (though not of national art). Yet, even our unconditioned response to farce and slapstick has been vitiated by the recent domestication of our instincts and the growing pretentiousness of our tastes – until the popular forms have all but disappeared from the popular media, exiled to the work of those "difficult" and unpopular playwrights whom Mr. Kerr deplores.

Still, it has not quite disappeared, because a raucous farce just breezed into town, bringing with it the atmosphere of balmier days. *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, to be sure, has had to be smuggled in disguised as a "musical" in order to be produced at all; but the disguise is so transparent that none but the charity audiences will be deceived. Sticking with surprising fidelity to a number of Plautine farces – situations and characters have been borrowed from *Casina*, *Curculio*, *Miles Gloriosus*, and *Pseudolus*, among others – the work is also flavored with a generous seasoning of Minsky burlesque technique, thus combining Roman convention and American invention in a way that should delight both traditionalists and moderns who still respond to the lowest comedy.

There is a problem with the songs. The essence of farce is uninterrupted movement; yet, whenever the action begins to gather momentum, the lights are lowered and somebody stops short to warble one of Stephen Sondheim's tunes. In addition, the sophisticated lyrics, while superior to the melodies, come from that world of chic which inspires arch Broadway musicals, and are thus in jarring contrast to the wonderful vulgarity of the physical action. Still, the evening is blissfully free of "choreography," and the actors are permitted to be as gross and earthbound as they please, while serving up the farcical ingredients (mistaken identity, female impersonation, double entendre, and the most dizzy chase in years) of this abundant comic potpourri.

If the play seems an evocation of happier years, so do the performances. American actors have never lost their comic talents, but these are so rarely exercised that they almost have to be resurrected; and much of the acting seems the result of expert antiquarian research by the director, George Abbott. Jack Gilford as Hysterium ("slave of slaves") has borrowed the nervous vacancy of Ed Wynn twitching with terror as, dressed in female costume, he runs from a lustful old man; Ruth Kobart, as the shrew Domina, has turned to Margaret Dumont for her fine impersonation of a coquettish ogre; Ronald Holgate as Miles ("I am a parade") Gloriosus reminds one of a muscle-bound Nelson Eddy; and David Burns, puffing, blustering, and cooing as the impotent-amorous Senex – a traditional Plautine butt – has reached back to the top banana style of the old girlie musicals.

As for Zero Mostel, playing the prologue and the wily slave who instigates the action, he is indebted to nothing but his own superb imagination. Whether feigning boredom amidst a covey of luscious courtesans (reclining languidly, he plays tic-tac-toe on the undulating stomach of the gorgeous Pecunia), declaiming Socrates' hemlock speech while being threatened by an indignant suitor, or transforming his flexible bulk into an inexhaustible variety of animate and inanimate objects, Mostel is responsible for more mischievous and explosive invention than anyone since the splitters of the atom. If comedy is still barely alive in America, we must thank people like the incomparable Zero who never lost their sense of the ridiculous during this solemn age. And we must thank the authors of this farce who have found the

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courage to offer audiences little more than joy and laughter in a vanishing form of popular entertainment.

I hope the work presages a trend, but I am inclined to doubt it. Even now there are rumbles (and from Walter Kerr) about its breaches of "taste," and when audiences discover that they are paying $9.90 a ticket for nothing more portentous than another *Boys From Syracuse*, word of mouth may kill the run. But even if such popular entertainments eventually return, we must not confuse them with dramatic art. As long as the majority remains enfeebled in soul, nerve, and intellect – demoralized in spirit, seeking release in fantasies and opiates – the work of the serious playright will remain a minority expression, recruiting its spectators from among that "aristocracy of character, of will, of intellect" which Ibsen hoped would resist the cultural degradations of the democratic dogma. The voice of the people is still the voice from the TV box, and he who would have it otherwise must first start a revolution in the consciousness of modern man.

ROBERT BRUSTEIN

Correspondence

Billie Sol and the Democrats

Sirs:

The "good sized nuggets" which you allege Billie Sol Estes gave to Don Yarborough amounted to the sum of $50, as recorded in the Secretary of State's Office in Austin in the campaign expense report from Don Yarborough's 1960 race for Lt. Governor. It is common knowledge in Texas political circles that this year Estes was backing John Connally, and one of Estes' lawyers is the same man who did the legal work in the 1948 case involving Lyndon Johnson's famous 87 vote election to the US Senate.

While Estes was giving Don Yarborough $50 in 1960, he was also giving Jack Cox, who ran in the Democratic Primary for Governor that year as an ultra-conservative against conservative Price Daniel, $300. This year Cox is the Republican nominee for Governor. Estes' $300 contribution to Cox is also on file in the office of the Texas Secretary of State, and has been duly reported to the public by several Texas newspapers, along with his $50 contribution to Don Yarborough.

Sure, Billie Sol Estes contributed to some liberal candidates, but he also contributed to some conservatives, and his closest political connections were with Lyndon Johnson, a fact which the press has conveniently ignored and which the Vice President's propaganda mill is trying to hide.

Tom H. Camfield
Austin, Texas

In reply . . .

We're on Don Yarborough's side, but facts are facts. Our note concerned the current, not the 1960 Texas campaign. And, as reported in *The New York Times* of May 4, 1962, there is on file with the state Attorney General of Texas "checks written by Mr. Estes totalling $4,420 to the Democratic National Committee and of $1,000 to Don Yarborough."

THE EDITORS

Resumption of Testing

Sirs:

Whatever lessons we may draw from the resumption of nuclear testing after three years of restraint, we may not honestly conclude that international agreement has been tried and has failed. There simply was no agreement before the tests were resumed.

Morton Halperin in these pages on April 30 belittled the distinction between unilateral restraint and formal agreement. From the Soviets' termination of the test cessation he drew unjustified conclusions about the fragility of a formal agreement. He fails to recognize that sanctions may be operative in agreement which do not exist with reciprocated unilateral acts. The test moratorium may have contributed some small gain of stability, but it failed to reach its major objective, which was to facilitate a test-ban agreement at Geneva. It failed because we did not sufficiently want such an agreement: we withdrew our negotiating position because of exaggerated fears of small-scale evasion trivial compared with the atmospheric tests the Soviets were free to make in the absence of agreement. We'll never know whether

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a similar road block would have arisen from the Soviet side in late 1958 had it not from ours. With an agreement, the Soviets would have had less temptation to resume testing. We would not have been planning to test, and this would have helped the agreement-minded faction of the Kremlin to resist pressure for tests. Both sides would want to preserve the agreement as a tool to suppress the rise of other nuclear powers.

More important than our hope for a test ban is the quest for disarmament and here we must find the most important lessons from the failure of the moratorium: that we must heed opportunity when it knocks and must not be content with the small benefits of unilateral restraint when more may be gained from far-reaching agreement.

David R. Inglis
Western Springs, Ill.

Halle Replies to Niebuhr

Sirs:

Reading Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr's review of my *Men and Nations* in the issue of May 14, I am again impressed by how well the Lord did his work in the 11th Chapter of *Genesis*, when he confused men's language "that they may not understand one another's speech."

Dr. Niebuhr writes that he is "puzzled by this tortuous effort to make variegated reality conform to some eternal *logos*, when the greater problem of our common life is obviously to define what ought to be in terms of some relevance of the variegated reality of existence, and not in terms of the fantasies of the idealist." Since his definition of "the greater problem" matches my own repeated statement of it in the book, I in turn am puzzled.

Dr. Niebuhr here overlooks a central point, the distinction that the book makes between the unknown "*Logos*" and those "nominal ideas" ("the fantasies of the idealist") that men falsely put in its place. Its whole burden is the dilemma of mankind, which must strive to make its behavior conform to the existential reality of the world as it is and, at the same time, to the order that should be (the "*Logos*"), of which it is bound to be largely ignorant. The order that should be, to the extent that it may eventually be apprehended, must be approached through existential reality ("the variegated reality of existence"), to which human behavior must therefore conform in a primary sense. a principal theme of the book is the disaster that ensues when men mistake their own idealist fantasies for the *Logos*, disregarding "the variegated reality of existence."

Dr. Niebuhr's failure to take account of the distinction that is so fundamental in the book leads him, in the last paragraph of his review, to challenge the book with the very arguments that it makes itself, even to the extent of using the same specific illustrations in support of those arguments.

One difficulty may have been that Dr. Niebuhr was concerned to fit the philosophy of *Men and Nations* into the traditional categories of ancient and mediaeval philosophy, with their standard labels. Thus the opening lines of the book, which he quotes, tell him that I am a "Platonist." Later on he discovers that I attach central importance to the individual as opposed to the community, and this is "individualism." "Individualism," in turn, is "nominalism." Therefore I must be a "Nominalist" – although I am myself at a loss to see how I could be both a "Platonist" and a "Nominalist," or how I could be a "Nominalist" and at the same time favor "the fantasies of the idealist" over "the variegated reality of existence" and "turn [my] back on the genius of modern empirical culture" (for which, in fact, I make the strongest kind of plea).

Justice Holmes once said that we ought to think things rather than words. When a book attempts to set forth what is delicate and complex (necessarily in words, in the language that the Lord confused) one must expect it to be misunderstood by readers who are unsympathetic, and Dr. Niebuhr's own philosophy would have tended to make him unsympathetic with mine from the first page.

I am one of Dr. Niebuhr's admirers, although not belonging to his school of thought. Since, in a long and distinguished career, he has deservedly achieved a public authority that few reviewers can match, I have felt I should call attention to some of the differences between what my book says and what he has taken it to say.

Louis J. Halle
Geneva, Switzerland

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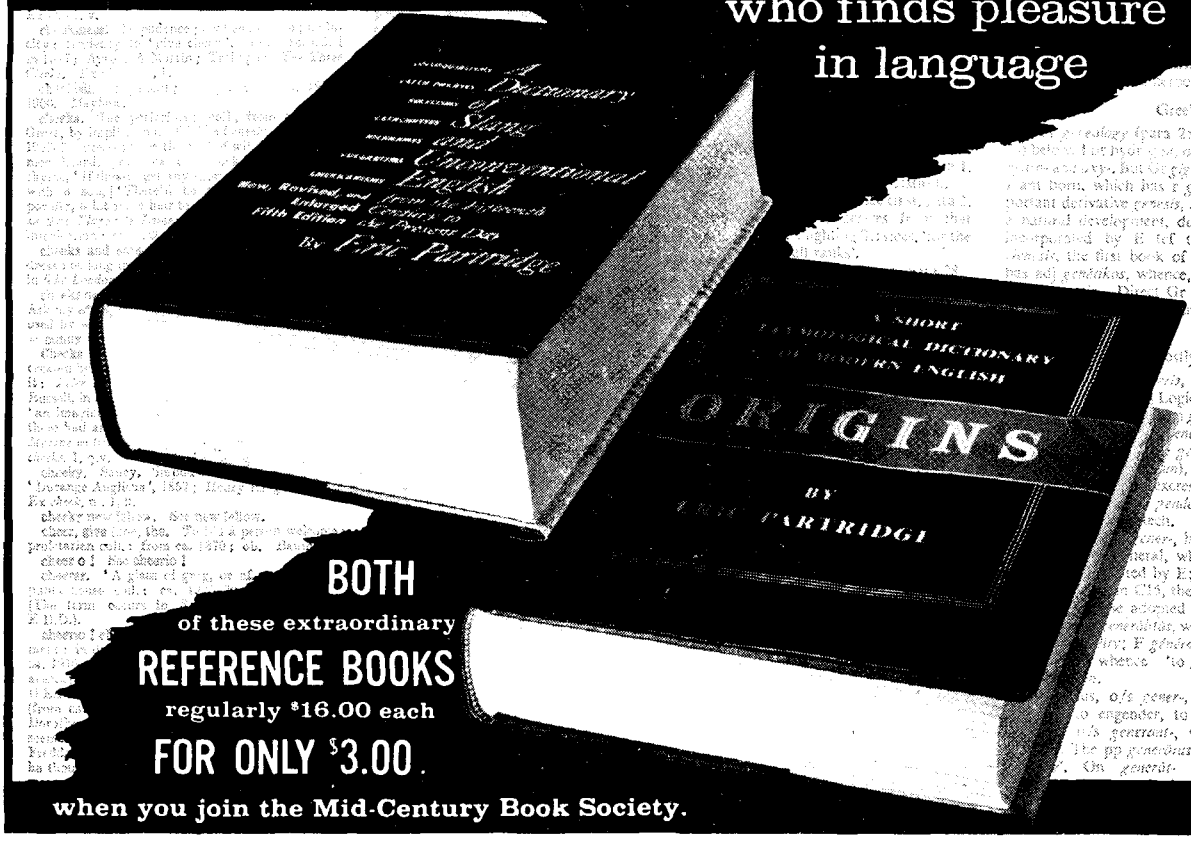
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